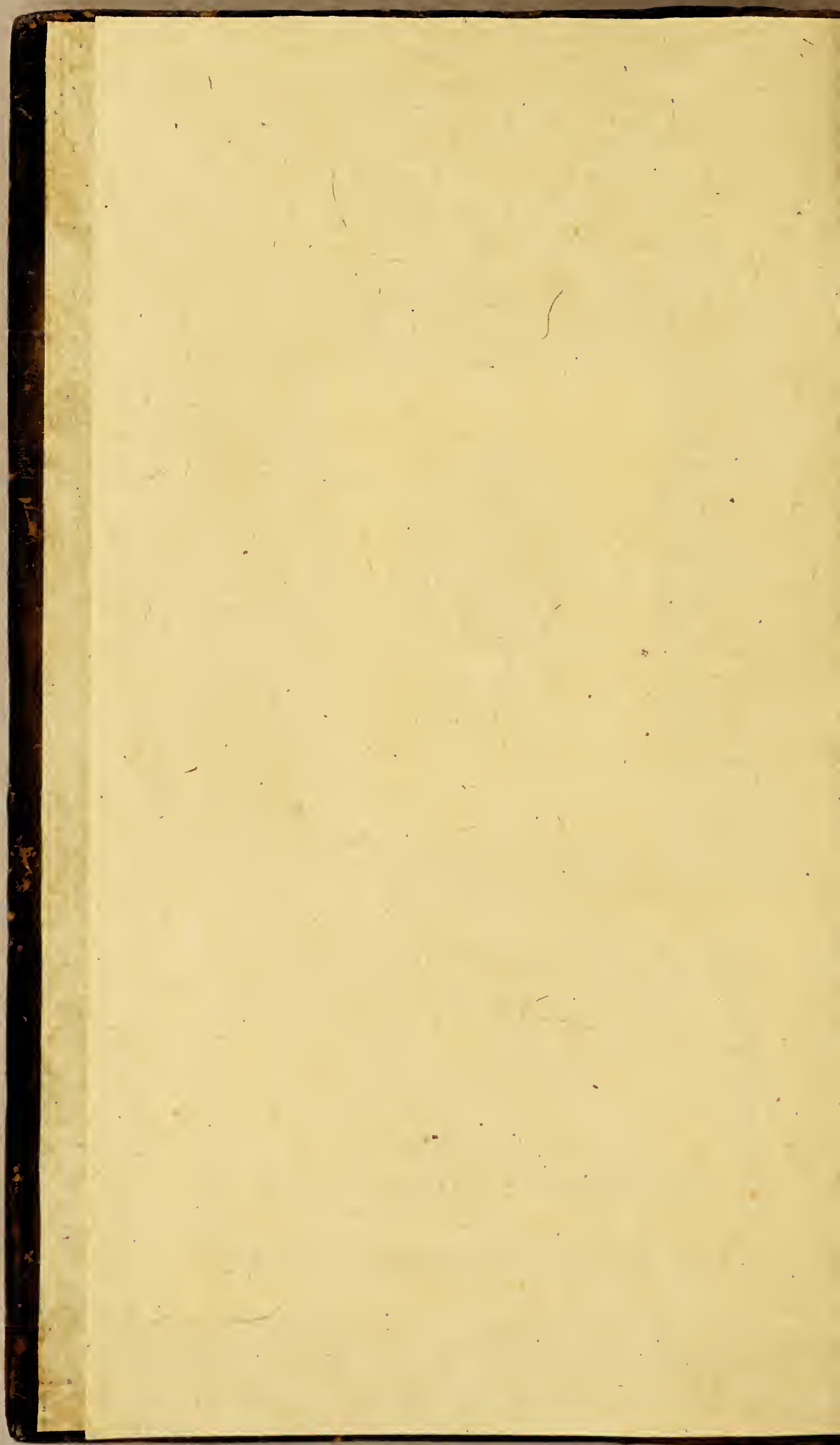
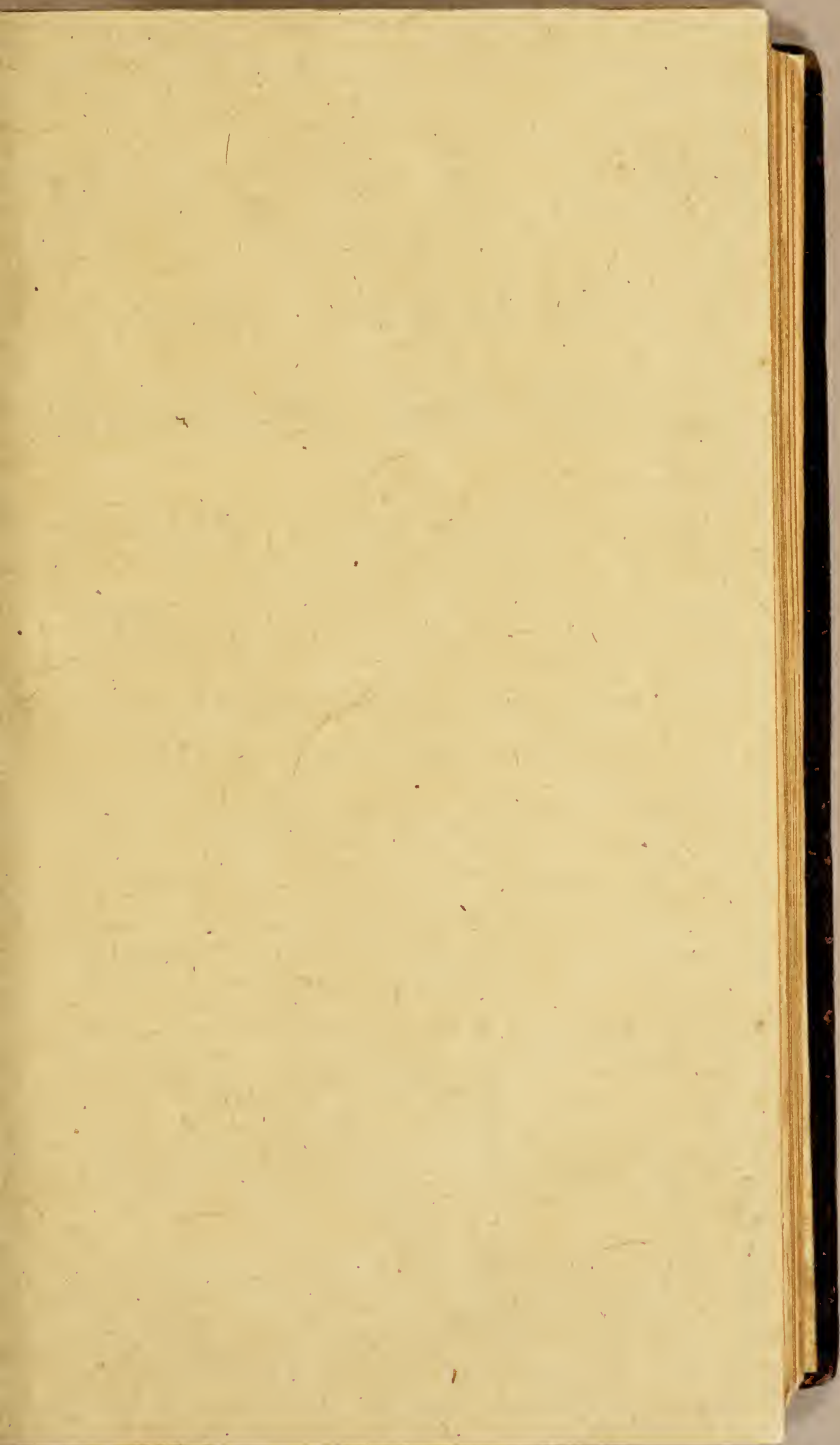
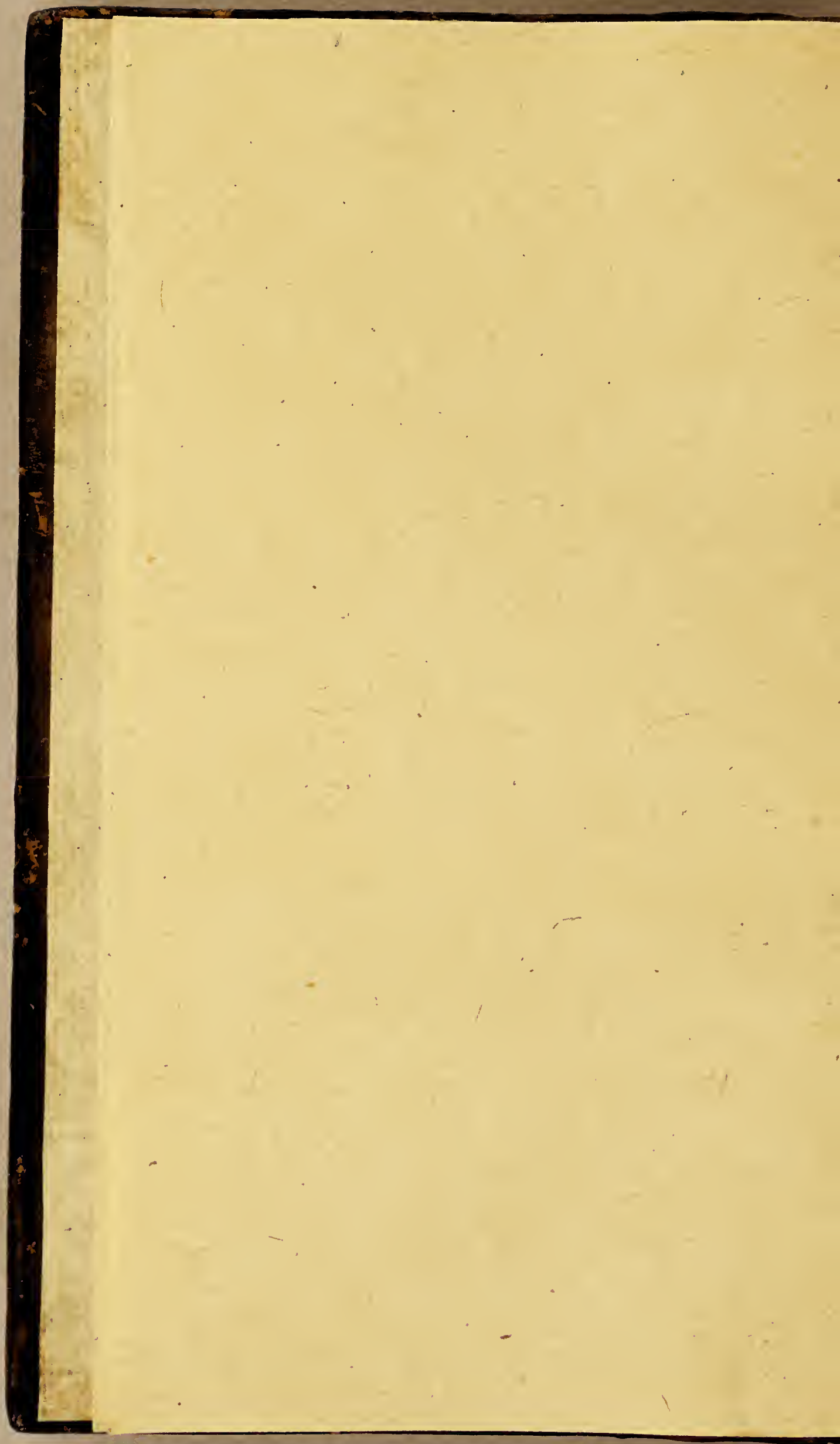


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A
HISTORY
OF THE
CRUEL SUFFERINGS
OF THE
Protestants, and Others,

BY
POPISH PERSECUTIONS,

In various COUNTRIES:

Together with a View of the REFORMATIONS
from the CHURCH of ROME.

Interspersed with the Barbarities of the Inquisition.

By QUESTION and ANSWER.

Faithfully compiled from a great Number of Authors,
in different Languages,

By JOHN LOCKMAN,

Secretary to the Society of the FREE BRITISH FISHERY:
Author of the HISTORY of ENGLAND, and ROMAN
HISTORY, by Question and Answer.

Writ principally for SCHOOLS: and being intended as
a Preservative from Popery and arbitrary Power, may
be of Use in all Protestant Families.

*Follow not that which is evil, but that which is good. He
that doeth Good is of God: but he that doeth Evil, hath not
seen God.*

Third Epistle of John, verse 11.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. CLARKE, under the Royal-Exchange; J. NEWBERRY,
in St. Paul's Church-Yard; R. BALDWIN, J. RICHARDSON,
and H. WOODFALL, in Pater-noster Row; W. JOHNSTON, in
Ludgate-Street; S. CROWDER, on London-Bridge; and P. DAVEY
and B. LAW, in Ave-Maria-Lane. MDCCCLX.

Church of England.

self may be
terials are of marble, how beautiful does the great
guilted piety, emotion, and sentiment. The
particulars in it, are borrowed from authors of this
not be unworthy of your perusal, as one of the
Farmer. - It professed that the little work, might
with his health, and intended to read the whole
having borrowed one of the most interesting
ject, and of the manner in which it is treated, the
ready. This promise brought forth a number of the
interest, his tongue, his pen, his heart, with out
lative countries to receive notice, in a small oblique
of a pastoral care, for the same time the
of the value of mankind, I hope to be able to
the composition was the result of the penman's
of a man, who had been a minister, a pastor, a
among them was the late learned Bishop of Wilt-

[illegible]

TO THE
CLERGY
OF THE
Church of ENGLAND.



ERMIT me to crave your patronage for the following sheets, which contain the cruel persecutions of the protestants, and others, by the sanguinary church of *Rome*; and a view of the reformatations.

Previous to this address, I communicated the purport of my work to some literary friends, who all seemed pleased with it.

Among these was the late learned bishop of *Worcester* *, who long honoured me with his friendship: a prelate conspicuous for all the virtues of humanity, and a great judge of mankind: a prelate who, to his assiduous pastoral care, joined the warmest love for his native country; to serve which, in it's most essential interests, his tongue, his pen, his fortune, were ever ready. This prelate thought favourably of my subject, and of the manner in which it is treated; he having honoured one of the divisions, or chapters, with his perusal, and intending to read the whole.

Farther:—I presumed that this little work, might not be unworthy of your patronage, as most of the particulars in it, are borrowed from authors of distinguished piety, erudition, and eminence. The materials are of marble, how unskilful soever the architect may be.

* Dr. MADDOX.

A 2

Give

iv DEDICATION.

Give me leave to congratulate you, this memorable day *, upon THE GLORIOUS ONE THOUSAND, SEVEN HUNDRED, FIFTY NINE ; a year when the *British* arms were blest with successes, in every quarter of the globe, superior to those of any former æra. The conquest of QUEBEC, under GEORGE II, which darts a glory over his Majesty's throne, must sound delightful in the ears of our latest posterity. A reflexion on the temporal advantages that might accrue, to these kingdoms, from our possessing so wide extended a country as CANADA, must rejoice the heart of every true *Englishman*. But to consider this only in a religious view. How greatly must the protestant cause be strengthened ! What happiness would accrue to millions, yet unborn, should you carry the pure light of the gospel, into far distant regions, now either clouded by Paganism ; or, what may be still worse, infected with Romish principles : principles teeming with cruelty ; and thence no ways adapted to root out the inhuman custom of scalping †, and other barbarous practices !

It is usual with dedicators, to attempt the elogium of those to whom they offer their labours ; but this would be a task for which my little pen is no ways qualified. Let those, of the first order, celebrate your piety, your learning, your zeal : be mine expressive only of my warmest wishes for the glory and prosperity of our excellent church : assuring you, that no one can be with more unfeigned reverence,

Your most obedient,
and most devoted servant,
JOHN LOCKMAN.

* The Thanksgiving, Thursday, November 29, 1759.

† See, in p. 43, 44, of Dr. Mayhew's two Thanksgiving Discourses, printed at Boston [New England,] 1759, a most inhuman use made (as is affirmed) of the English scalps, by monsieur Vaudreuil, governor general of Canada.



THE

PREFACE.



HIS book was compiled by me in the year 1745, when the rebels threw our island into the greatest confusion. The hopes that it may be of some little benefit to my countrymen, is the motive for my now making it public.

It is but too notorious that the papists, here, are perpetually striving to make proselytes, to their false religion; and that, for this pernicious purpose, they employ the most subtle engines. Many sage laws have been enacted, at different times, to check the growth of popery in this country: notwithstanding which, it still makes but too much havock. The attempts here hinted at, are usually

made in the dark; and by instruments, that, very often, are not suspected, till after they have injected their poison. Many Romish priests resort to private houses, for the sinister purpose above mentioned: and disguised papists sometimes reside, in our protestant schools, under the mask of tutors or teachers. However, let it not be supposed, that I here glance at foreigners, who turn from popery to our church; I having the charity to hope, that many of them are sincere in their conversion.

The great number of Romish books writ in the English tongue; and printed here clandestinely, fascinate the eyes of many weak protestants, and convert them to the church of Rome. These books are drawn up with all imaginable art; and, though an intelligent reader will clearly see through it, yet as the bulk of mankind have not capacity or learning sufficient to combat it, such books should be kept out of their way; and others put into their hands, which may preserve them from popish delusion and imposture.

*Besides, I presumed, that as we are now engaged in a fierce war with a ROMISH POWER, who proudly threatens us with an INVASION: a Power ever envious of our felicity: a Power whose views are to throw, if possible, the whole world into chains: that it might not be improper to animate my countrymen, still further, by means of the present little history, against this Romish Power, [by which the individuals subject to him, are not meant;] against attempts which, could they possibly succeed, would once more make this blissful land a scene of blood; and entail the most grievous woes on our posterity. I judged the publication of this piece the more necessary, at this critical juncture; as there still live among us, men, who not
only*

only inveigh against our religion, and our government; but even audaciously extol those of France, as infinitely preferable to them.

At the same time that I collected the Persecutions, I judged it necessary to give some account of the REFORMATIONS, wherever these were so happy as to take place. Hereby the reader will be informed, of a great number of curious and interesting particulars; and justice will be done to some of the most excellent men that ever lived.

From the time that I was able to judge for myself, I have considered many of the doctrines and rites of the church of Rome, as the grossest affront to the understandings of mankind, who, in this respect, are treated like babes, worthy of being amused with nothing but rattles and baubles; for, methinks, many of the popish tenets and ceremonies deserve this name. No juggler could make a more whimsical appearance than the rosy cheeked friar, who shewed me the relicks at St. Denys, near Paris.

But all this is nothing, when we view popery in another light; I mean that of CRUELTY. To persecute men, even to death, for principles which it often is not in their power to eradicate; in order for them to embrace others, diametrically opposite to that pure reason, with which heaven has illumed the minds of most men; must argue an institution, certainly not from heaven. Methinks the Trojan horse could not be more aptly applied, (in some measure,) by way of simile, than to that detestable invention of the church of Rome, the INQUISITION: this being an engine which, whilst

PREFACE.

it sacrilegiously boasts a celestial origin, gives rise to the most deadly evils that can plague mankind.

We are now happy, in the quiet possession of our religion, and of our liberties; purchased by the abilities, the rectitude, the treasure, the blood of our renowned ancestors. Hence it behoves us, as well for our own sakes, as out of regard to their memory, to labour, with all our might, in order to preserve those invaluable blessings. How grossly mistaken then; how weak must some persons among us be, who wildly fancy, that we should be gainers, by changing our faith and our masters!—Let such call back the horrid times, when persons of both sexes, of the greatest piety and accomplishments, fell a sacrifice to popish barbarity. Let such suppose our prisons, crowded with people of all ranks; confined merely because they would not betray their consciences, and worship Baal. Let such image the scourges, the racks, and other instruments of torture, exercised in those dismal abodes; let them think they behold Smithfield again blazing with fires, lighted up to destroy every virtue, every laudable talent:—and then, let them wish for a change!

These sheets will exhibit a multitude of such frightful pictures: and surely, the mind which is not affected, by them, must either be stark blind, or greatly hardened. In what view, then, ought we to consider a religion, which, at the same time that it blasphemously pretends to be the only one descended from heaven, is actuated by a most shocking spirit of cruelty: and inculcates principles directly repugnant to the doctrine of Christ, who made social love the grand characteristic of the faith he came to establish!

This

PREFACE.

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This book, though small in size, is vastly abundant in matter, it extending over a great part of the world. To frame it, I perused a very considerable number of authors, in various languages, of all which I made the best use I could: and was especially careful, not to introduce a single falsity, knowing it to be such; truth having always been my grand object, on this, and every other occasion.

But, spite of all my attention, many errors* may possibly have crept in. Should this be the case, I shall be infinitely obliged to those who may point them out to me with candour. I consequently have not thrown any false colours over the work; and hope my impartiality will appear, from passages where I mention the too rigorous treatment which papists, and persons called hereticks, have sometimes met with from princes professing (outwardly) the protestant religion.

The reader will find much civil history blended with the religious, which has swelled these sheets considerably. But this was frequently unavoidable, because of the intimate connexion between church and state. However, the several passages, from civil history, diffuse an agreeable variety over the whole: not to mention, that the pupil will thereby be often presented with in-

* I seem to have writ too negligently, where I express myself thus, in page 302 of the following sheets, "I am very sorry to observe, on occasion of the trial of the two quakers abovementioned, [Penn and Mead] that the church of England is said to have espoused tyranny at that time."—It is certain that the church of England does not prescribe, or espouse, persecution.

cidents

cidents of a very important and entertaining nature. But as some of these may be above a juvenile capacity, they should be past over; and such only attended to, as may relate to the persecutions, or re-formations.

At the same that I declare my aversion to popery, I profess the warmest and most sincere friendship, for some very amiable persons of that communion, both here and abroad. And I most earnestly intreat all such parents or teachers, as shall please to make use of this little performance, to behave as citizens of the world, by inspiring the hearts of their pupils with BENEVOLENCE. To observe, in the most forcible terms, that it would be highly irrational, and inconsistent with the precepts of the gospel, to hate any man, merely on account of his religion. To add, that as there are bad people, of all persuasions, there likewise are others of distinguished goodness: and that these cannot be too greatly revered, cherished, and beloved, whatever faith they may profess.—The present work is against popery in general, not against papists in particular; those only excepted, who acknowledge the pope's supremacy, in all its latitude, and thence can be faithful subjects to him only. Others may, in my humble opinion, be good Englishmen; and I myself am acquainted with some worthy Romanists, who, I believe, are as warmly attach'd, to the present happy establishment, as the most hearty protestant among us.—May we ever live in harmony with such, toleration being my favourite principle!—I beg to recommend a humane disposition of mind, (like to that above hinted at,) with regard to nations; for no man ought to be hated, on account of his country.

Before

Before I conclude, I must return my kindest thanks, to the publick, for their very indulgent reception of two other small performances of mine.—The first is, A History of England, by Question and Answer, the eleventh edition of which is printed off: besides four editions of the same work, writ by me both in English and French; exclusive of the Irish editions, and different pyracies.—The second piece is, A Roman History, by Question and Answer, of which there are five editions. I hope the present work will be no less favourably received, as my design hereby, (as has been hinted,) is to assist chiefly our youth, who, in my opinion, cannot be too early fortified against popery: this being, I presume, the surest way to preserve them, during the remaining part of their lives, from the artful snares of Romish missionaries, and other seducers. To invigorate plants, we water them well at the root. It is the same, I imagine, with young minds. Every endeavour, for this purpose, should therefore be viewed with a favourable eye; and, among my pleasures, none is so exquisite as when I am throwing in my mite, (abstracted from all venal views,) on such occasions; in the humble hopes of thereby serving my native country.

That nothing useful might be wanting, I have subjoined a very copious index.

P. S. I am extremely sorry, not to have yet been able to publish two volumes in quarto, of miscellanies, graciously patronized by her ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS DOWAGER OF WALES; and for which, at the kind importunity of some gentlemen, I delivered out proposals. The delay has been owing to my faithful and unwearied application, during many

xii POSTSCRIPT.

many years, to the national business of the Herring Fishery. No one wishes more ardently, than I do, for a proper occasion to enjoy the *Otium literatum*, so highly prized by the antients; and, to procure which, I have employed every upright endeavour. Such leisure would be the more agreeable, as I thereby should have an opportunity of keeping my promise with friends, whose affection I value, more than I should all the wealth of the universe.



ERRATA.

Page 49, Line 27, for *Paul IV*, read *Paul III*.

81, — 26, dele *this*.

155, — 26, after *or*, add *till*.

167, — 25, for *Guises*, read *Gucses*.

168, — 31, — *priviteers* — *privateers*.

200, — 3, — *forcé* — *force*.

209, — 18, — *was* — *were*.

224, — 31, — *the* — *these*.

264, — 19, — *the* — *be*.

288, — 21, — *that* — *those*.

N. B. Instead of *Mahomedans*, read *Mohammedans* every where.



HISTORY

OF THE


ROMISH PERSECUTIONS

IN

ENGLAND,

AND

The REFORMATION there.

2. OW far back may we trace the first attempts made, in *England*, towards a reformation of the church?

A. To the reign of *Edward III*, about *Anno Domini* 1350, when *John Wickliff* appeared. He published his belief, with regard to several articles of religion, in which he differed from the common doctrine. Pope *Gregory XI*, hearing this, condemned some of his tenets; and commanded the archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the bishop of *London*, to oblige him to subscribe the condemnation of them; and in case of refusal, to summon him to *Rome*. This commission could not be easily executed,

B

executed, *Wickliff* having mighty friends ; the chief of whom, was *John of Gaunt*, duke of *Lancaster*, (who enjoyed very great power,) he being his protector. The archbishop holding a synod at *St. Paul's*, *Wickliff* appeared, accompanied by the duke of *Lancaster*, and lord *Percy*, marshal of *England*. A dispute arising, whether *Wickliff* should answer sitting or standing ; the duke of *Lancaster* proceeded to threats, and gave the bishop very hard words. The people present thinking the bishop in danger, sided with him ; so that the duke of *Lancaster*, and the earl marshal, thought it prudent to retire, and to take *Wickliff* with them. After this an insurrection ensued, some incendiaries spreading a report, that the duke of *Lancaster* had persuaded the king to take away the privileges of the city of *London*, &c. which fired the people to such a degree, that they broke open the *Marshalsea*, and freed all the prisoners. And not contented with this, a vast number of them flew to the duke's palace in the *Savoy* ; when missing his person, they plundered his house, and dragged his arms through the streets. For this outrage, the duke of *Lancaster* caused the lord-mayor and aldermen to be turned out ; imagining that they had not used their authority to quell the mutineers. The bishops meeting a second time, *Wickliff* explained to them his sentiments, with regard to the sacrament of the eucharist, in opposition to the belief of the Romanists ; for which the bishops only enjoined him silence ; they not daring, at that time, to go to greater lengths.

Q. What did *Wickliff* afterwards ?

A. Some other books were writ by him, which gave great offence to the clergy. However, being powerfully supported by the house of *Lancaster*, as was observed, his enemies could not take their revenge during his life ; but he was condemned after his death, and his body taken up and burnt. He translated the *Bible* into *English* ; which, with the preface he wrote to it, produced great effects. He therein reflected on the bad lives of the clergy ; and condemned the worship of saints, images, and the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament. But what offended most was, his exhorting all people to read the scriptures ; in which the testimonies against all those corruptions appeared

peared so strongly, that the only way to prevent their being blazoned to the world was, not to permit the sacred writings to be translated.

Q. Had *Wickliff* many followers?

A. Yes. Great numbers of them, indeed, were not men of learning; but being wrought upon by the easy conviction of plain reason; this alone determined them in their persuasion. The clergy, in the next reigns, made the most diligent search for *Lollards*: and, after conviction, delivered them over to the secular arm, that is, to THE FIRE, as will be seen hereafter. This species of punishment agreed best with the cruel spirit of such sort of clergy; as bearing some resemblance to the everlasting torments of hell; so that they would have damned the souls of the hereticks, (as they termed them,) had this been in their power, in like manner as they burnt their bodies. In the primitive church, all cruel proceedings, upon account of heresy, were condemned; and banishment, fines, and such like, were the greatest severities then practised, even upon the highest provocation. But as the church grew corrupt in other matters; so a barbarous spirit being usually the characteristic of evil priests in all religions; those we are now speaking of fell under the influence of it.

Q. What farther progress did *Wickliff's* doctrines make?

A. They were immediately espoused by vast numbers, not only of the students of *Oxford*, but also of the great men at court; and particularly by the duke of *Lancaster* and lord *Percy*, earl marshal abovementioned. As *Wickliff* may be considered as the great founder of the reformation in this kingdom, it may be proper to enlarge upon him. He was of *Merton-College* in *Oxford*, where he took his doctor's degree. *Wickliff* became so eminent, for his fine genius and great learning, that *Simon Islip*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, having founded *Canterbury College* (now *Christ-Church*;) in *Oxford*, appointed him rector; which employment he filled with universal approbation, till the death of the archbishop. *Langham*, successor to *Islip*, being desirous of favouring the monks, and introducing them into the college, attempted to remove *Wickliff*, and put one *Wood-*
B 2
ball,

ball, a monk, into his room. But the fellows of the college would never consent to this, they loving their old rector ; but this affair being afterwards carried to *Rome*, *Wickliff* was deprived in favour of *Woodball*. However, this no ways lessened the reputation of the former ; every one perceiving it was a general affair ; and that the monks did not so much strike at *Wickliff*'s person, as at all the secular priests, who were members of the college. And, indeed, they were all turned out, to make room for the monks. Shortly after he was presented to the living of *Lutterworth*, in the diocese of *Lincoln* ; and he there published, in his sermons and writings, certain opinions, which were judged new, because contrary to the received doctrine of those days. It must be observed, that his most bitter enemies have never charged him with any kind of immorality. *Wickliff* was left in quiet, at *Lutterworth*, till his death, which happened *December 31, 1385*. The condemnation of his doctrine did not prevent its spreading all over the kingdom ; and with such success, that, (according to *Spelman*,) two men could not be found together, and one not a *Lollard*.

Q. Had not a decree been made, in the council of the Lateran, with regard to hereticks ?

A. Yes. This required all magistrates to extirpate them, upon pain of forfeiture and deposition. The canons of this council being received in *England*, the prosecution of hereticks became a part of the common law ; and a writ (styled *de heretico comburendo*) was issued, under *Henry IV*, for burning them upon their conviction ; after which special statutes were made.

Q. When did these commence ?

A. Under *Richard II*. (about the year 1390.) The first which was made was agreed to only by the lords ; but the king assented to it, without the concurrence of the commons. Yet the utmost extent of the severity in this was, that writs should be issued, to the sheriffs, to keep hereticks in prison, till they should be judged by the laws of the church. It appears that those hereticks were, at this time, very numerous ; that they wore a peculiar habit ; preached in churches, and many other places, against

against the faith ; and refused to pay obedience to the church censures.

Q. What happened under *Henry IV* ?

A. When this monarch came to the crown in 1399 ; as he owed it, in a great measure, to the clergy, he passed an act against all who should presume to preach without the bishop's licence, or against the faith. And it was enacted, that all transgressors, of this kind, should be imprisoned, and be brought to a trial within three months. If, upon conviction, they offered to abjure, and were not relapses, they were to be imprisoned and fined at pleasure ; but, if they refused to abjure, or were relapses, they were to be delivered over to the secular arm ; and the magistrates were to burn them in some public place. About this time, *William Sautre*, parish-priest of *St. Osith* in *London*, being condemned as a relapse, and degraded by *Arundel*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, a writ was issued out, wherein burning is called the common punishment, and referring to the customs of other nations. This was the first example of that sort in *England*.

Q. Explain, more at large, the treatment which the *Lollards* met with under *Henry IV*.

A. Ever since *Wickliff* first published his doctrine, the clergy were extremely fearful of its prevailing at last. I am to observe that the bishops, under *Richard II*, obtained a general license to imprison hereticks, without being obliged to get a particular order from court ; but that the house of commons caused it to be revoked. But as the fear of imprisonment could not check the pretended evil dreaded by the bishops ; *Henry IV*, whose perpetual object was (as was hinted) to win the affection of the clergy ; earnestly recommended, to the parliament, the concerns of the church. How reluctant soever the house of commons might be, to prosecute the *Lollards* ; the credit of the court, and the cabals of the clergy, at last obtained a most detestable act, for the burning of obstinate hereticks ; which bloody statute was not repealed till the year 1677. It was immediately after the passing of this statute, that the ecclesiastical court condemned *William Sautre* abovementioned.

Q. Did not *Wickliff's* doctrine continue to spread greatly in *Henry* the IVth's reign?

A. To such a degree, that the majority of the house of commons were inclined to it; whence they presented two petitions to the king; one against the clergy, the other in favour of the *Lollards*. The first set forth, that the clergy made an ill use of their wealth; and consumed their income in a manner quite different from the intent of the donors. That their revenues were excessive, and consequently that it would be necessary to lessen them. That so many estates might easily be seized, as would provide for 150 earls, at the rate of 3000 marks a year each; 1500 barons, at 100 marks each; 6200 knights, at forty marks; and 100 hospitals, at 100 marks. That, by this means, the safety of the kingdom might be better provided for; the poor better maintained; and the clergy more devoted to their duty.—In the second petition the commons prayed, that the statute passed against the *Lollards*, in the second year of this reign, might be repealed, or qualified with some restrictions.—As it was the king's interest to please the clergy, he answered the commons very sharply, that he neither could, nor would, consent to their petitions.—And, with regard to the *Lollards*, he declared that he wished the hereticks were extirpated out of the land. To prove the truth of this, he signed a warrant for burning *Thomas Badly*. The prince of *Wales* had a mind to be present at the execution; and, as the poor wretch gave sensible signs of the torture he indured, he ordered the fire to be removed; and promised him a pension for life, provided he would recant: but *Badly* recovering his spirits, refused to comply with the offer, and suffered death with heroic courage.—The commons considered this execution as an insult.

Q. Did these *Wickliffites*, or *Lollards*, spread under *Henry* V?

A. In the beginning of his reign, about *Anno* 1413, a pretended conspiracy, (contrived by the clergy,) was said to be discovered of Sir *John Oldcastle*, and some other of *Wickliff's* followers. Many of these were condemned, both for high-treason and heresy: were first hanged, and afterwards burnt. A law followed, enacting that all *Lollards*

Lollards should forfeit their whole possessions in fee simple, with their goods and chattels ; and all sheriffs and magistrates, from the lord chancellor to the meanest officer, were required to take an oath, to destroy all heresies and *Lollardies* ; and to assist the ordinaries in the prosecution of them. The clergy made an ill use of this law ; and vexed all people, who any ways offended them, with imprisonments ; upon which the judges interposing, they examined the grounds of such commitments ; and, as they saw cause, either bailed or discharged the prisoners ; and took upon them to declare, what opinions were heresies, by law, and what not. Thus the people flew for protection to the judges, and found more mercy from the common lawyers, than from those who ought to have been the pastors of their souls.

Q. To what were these persecutions under *Henry V.* owing ?

A. To the cruel inspirations of the clergy ; that monarch being naturally averse to persecution. It is supposed, that the chief cause of the violent hatred which the clergy bore to the *Lollards*, was, that these had endeavoured to strip them of part of their revenues. However this be, they thought that the most effectual way to check the progress of *Wickliff's* doctrine, would be, to attack the then chief protector of it, *viz.* Sir *John Oldcastle*, baron of *Cobham* ; and to persuade the king, that the *Lollards* were engaged in conspiracies (as was observed) to overturn the state. It was even reported, that they intended to murder the king, together with the princes, his brothers, with most of the lords spiritual and temporal ; in hopes, that the confusion which must necessarily arise in the kingdom, after such a massacre, would prove favourable to their religion. Upon this, a false rumour was spread, that Sir *John Oldcastle* had got together 20000 men in *St. Giles's in the Fields*, a place then overgrown with bushes. The king himself went thither at midnight, and finding no more than fourscore or an hundred persons, who were privately met upon a religious account, he fell upon them, and killed many. Some of them being afterwards examined, were prevailed upon merely by promises

or threats, to confess whatever their enemies desired ; and these accused Sir *John Oldcastle*.

Q. What followed thereupon ?

A. The king thought him guilty, and in that belief, set a thousand marks upon his head ; with a promise of perpetual exemption from taxes, to any town which should secure him. Being apprehended, he was imprisoned in the *Tower* ; but escaping from thence, he fled into *Wales*, where he long concealed himself. But being afterwards seized in *Powis-Land* in *North-Wales*, by *John Grey*, lord *Powis*, he was brought to *London*, to the great joy of the clergy, who were highly incensed against him ; and resolved to sacrifice him, to strike a terror into the rest of the *Lollards*. Sir *John Oldcastle* was of a very good family, had been sheriff of *Hertfordshire* under *Henry IV* ; and summoned to parliament among the barons of the realm, in that reign. He had been sent beyond sea, with the earl of *Arundel*, to assist the duke of *Burgundy* against the *French*. In a word, he was a man of extraordinary merit, notwithstanding which, he was condemned to be hanged up, by the waist, with a chain, and burnt alive. This most barbarous sentence was executed, amidst the curses and imprecations of the priests and monks, who used their utmost endeavours to prevent the people from praying for him. Such was the tragical end of Sir *John Oldcastle*, baron of *Cobham*, who left the world with a resolution and constancy, that answered perfectly to the brave spirit with which he had ever maintained the doctrine of *Wickliff*. This was the first noble blood shed, by popish cruelty, in *England*.

Q. Were the clergy satisfied with his death ?

A. They got the parliament to make fresh statutes against the *Lollards* : they never ceasing, with amazing eagerness, to require their blood. It was enacted, among other things, that whoever read the scriptures in *English*, should forfeit land, chattels, goods and life ; and be condemned as hereticks to God, enemies to the crown, and traitors to the kingdom ; that they should not have the benefit of any sanctuary ; and that, if they continued obstinate, or relapsed after pardon, they should first be hanged for treason against the king, and then burned for
heresy

heresy against God.—This act was no sooner past, but a violent persecution was raised against the *Lollards*. Several of them were burnt alive; some left the kingdom; and others abjured their religion, to escape the torments prepared for them.—From this picture here given, of the horrid barbarities exercised, in those times, we may justly bless these we live in, where nothing of that sort is practised; but where all are permitted to obey the dictates of their own conscience; and openly profess their respective religions, provided these do not disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom!—Again, should not the cruel statutes enacted in those ages, by bloody-minded prelates, naturally fill us with an aversion to a church, which inspires such detestable doctrines!

Q. Were not many *Lollards* persecuted under *Henry VIII*?

A. In the beginning of his reign, great numbers of them were seized, for heresy, and carried before archbishop *Warham*. They were called *Lollards*, from *Walter Lollard*, a *German*; or from the word *lolium*, tares. Forty-eight were accused, of whom forty-three abjured. Most of these were of *Tenterden*. Five of them, *viz.* four men and one woman, were condemned; some as obstinate heretics, and others as relapses: on which occasion a woman's husband, with her two sons, were, contrary to the ties of nature, brought in as witnesses against her. Upon their conviction, a certificate was issued by the archbishop to the Chancery; upon which, as there is no pardon upon record, the writs for burning them must have gone forth in course, and they were, in all probability, executed, as the clergy had no mercy on such occasions. Those who abjured, took an oath to discover all who held, or even were suspected, of those errors: and they were ordered to carry a faggot in procession; and to wear, on their cloaths, a representation of a person amid the flames of hell; as a public confession that they themselves had merited the fire. Four, in *London*, also abjured much the same opinions.

Q. What were the articles objected to these ill-fated people?

A. Their believing that in the eucharist there was nothing but material bread. That the sacraments of baptism, con-

firmation, marriage and extreme unction, were neither necessary nor profitable. That priests were not invested with greater power than laymen. That pilgrimages were not meritorious; and that the money spent, and pains taken, on those occasions, were all thrown away. That images ought not to be worshipped, as being mere stocks and stones. That prayers ought to be made to God only, and not to saints. That there was no virtue in holy water, or holy bread.—From what has been said, it is evident, that many persons, in *England*, were prepared to receive those doctrines, which were afterwards inculcated, in the reformation; even before *Luther* began to inveigh against indulgences.

Q. What was the conduct and behaviour of the clergy, when *Luther* began the reformation?

A. The bishops were grossly ignorant. They seldom resided in their diocesses, except to riot on high festivals; and their residence served only to corrupt others by their evil example. They followed the courts of princes, and aspired to the greatest offices. The abbots and monks were slaves to luxury and idleness; and the celibacy, both of the secular and regular clergy, gave infinite scandal to the world: it being found, that the restraining them from having wives of their own, made them conclude that they had a right to those of all other men. The inferior clergy were as dissolute: and not having places of retreat, like the monks, in which they might conceal their vices, these became more public. In a word, the clergy of all ranks were so universally despised, and hated, that the world was inclined to be prejudiced against the doctrines, on account of the men whose interest it was to support them. Add to this, that the worship of God was defiled with such gross superstitions, that all men perceived, without making much enquiry, that a reformation, in the church, was greatly wanted. This appeared still more, when the books of the fathers began to be read; they shewing the very wide difference between the former and later ages of the church. It was then evident, that blind superstition had taken the place of true piety; and that when, by means of the former, the wealth and dignity of the clergy were greatly advanced, the popes had thereby

thereby established their tyranny, under which the common people, and even kings, had long groaned. These several things concurring, paved the way towards the reformation; and the books writ, in *Germany*, being brought into *England*, and translated, won over many.

Q. Did not this occasion a persecution?

A. Yes. So very hot a one, that six men and women were burnt, in *Coventry*, during Passion-week, only for teaching their children the Creed, the Lord's-Prayer, and the ten Commandments, in *English*. Great numbers were brought into the bishop's court, some of whom were burnt, but most of them abjured. King *Henry* laid hold of this occasion to become the church's champion, and wrote against *Luther*, for which the pope gave him the title of Defender of the faith. A translation of the *New Testament*, by *Tindal*, being published, it was severely condemned by the clergy, with whom Sir *Thomas More* sided; but cardinal *Wolsey* seemed unconcerned at these attempts towards a reformation.

Q. Did not the tyranny of the bishops receive a great check in this reign?

A. By a statute enacted under *Henry IV*, bishops might commit upon a suspicion of heresy: and heresy was generally defined to be, whatever was contrary to the scriptures, or canonical sanctions, which was subject to great ambiguity: that statute was therefore repealed; and no persons were to be committed for heresy, except upon a presentment made by two witnesses. None were to be accused for speaking against the things which were grounded only on the papal canons. Bail was to be taken for hereticks, and such were to be brought to trial in open court: when if, upon conviction, they did not abjure, or were relapses, they were to be burnt; the king's writ being first obtained. This was a very great check to episcopal tyranny, and gave high satisfaction to those who favoured the reformation. At the same time the convocation sent in their submission; acknowledging that all convocations ought to be assembled by the king's writ. The act against appeals to *Rome* was revived: and another past, condemning all appeals thither; and appointing the king to nominate to vacant bishopricks. The religious orders gave it in, as

their opinions, that the king's marriage, with *Anna Boleyn*, was lawful: that he was head of the church of *England*: that the bishops of *Rome* had no authority out of their own diocese. These friars added, that they would continue obedient to the king, spite of the papal censures: and that they would preach the gospel sincerely, pursuant to the scriptures, and the tradition of the catholic doctors.

Q. Did not a famous female impostor arise about this time?

A. Yes, one *Elizabeth Barton*, commonly called the nun of *Kent*. This woman used to fall into trances, (said to be hystERIC fits;) when she would utter such things, as made many believe that she was really inspired by the Almighty. The parson of her parish, (*Masters* by name,) imagining that he might draw great advantages from this, told the whole to the archbishop; who bid him watch her carefully, and inform him of the consequences. However, she used to forget what she had said in her fits, when they were over. But the crafty priest would not let the thing go off so; but persuaded her that she was truly inspired; and taught her to counterfeit those trances so very dexterously, that she could fall into them at pleasure. This made a great noise. The parson's motive for setting her at work was, to raise the reputation of an image of the *Virgin Mary*, which stood in his church; and thereby to draw pilgrimages and offerings to it. He associated to himself one *Bocking*, a monk of *Canterbury*. They taught *Barton* to say, in her fits, that she had been assured in a vision, by the blessed *Virgin*, that she would not be well, till she had visited that image. She exclaimed against all who led ill lives, against heresy, and the king's suit of divorce then depending: and, by many strange contorsions of her body, seemed to be really possessed.

Q. Proceed in the progress of this holy farce.

A. A day being appointed for the cure, she was carried to the image in question before an assembly of 2000 people. Here, after acting over all her fits, she seemed to recover from them in an instant; which was ascribed to the intercession of the blessed *Virgin*, and the power of that image.

image. *Elizabeth Barton* then took the veil, and *Bocking* was her confessor. There were, however, violent suspicions of incontinence between them; but the great esteem she was in, triumphed over all censures. Many thought her a prophetess, and archbishop *Warham* among the rest. A book was writ of her revelations; and a letter was shewn, in gold characters, which was pretended to have been sent her, from heaven, by *Mary Magdalen*. She declared, that, when the king was last at *Calais*, she had been carried invisibly beyond sea, and brought back again: that an angel had administered the sacrament to her: and that the Almighty had revealed to her, that if the king proceeded in his divorce, and married another wife, he then should fall from his crown, and that he would not live a month longer, but die the death of a villain.

Q. What followed upon this?

A. Many of the monks gave credit to her, as also Sir *Thomas More*, and *Fisher*, bishop of *Rockester*, who were brought into trouble on that account. Friar *Peyto* preaching in the king's chapel at *Greenwich*, denounced God's judgments against him; and declared, that although others, as lying prophets, had deceived him; yet he would tell him, in the name of God, that dogs should lick his blood, as they had done that of *Ahab*. Still the king bore this patiently; and only ordered one Dr. *Corren* to preach against the friar, which he did accordingly. However, as the confederates of the nun published her revelations in all parts of the kingdom, she and nine of her accomplices were apprehended; when being examined, they, without being put to the torture, discovered the whole conspiracy; upon which they were appointed to go to St. *Paul's*. There, a sermon being preached on the occasion by the bishop of *Bangor*, they all repeated their confession before the people, and were then ordered to be imprisoned in the *Tower*: after which she, and six of her chief accomplices, were attainted of treason.

Q. What was afterwards done with these impostors?

A. The nun, with her accomplices, were executed at *Tyburn*. There she voluntarily confessed that she was a cheat, and acquiesced with the justice of her sentence, laying the blame on those who suffered with her: adding, that

that they had praised her for no other reason, than because she had been of great profit to them; and that they had given out, that all she did was through the working of the Holy Ghost; at the same time that they were perfectly sensible, that the whole was a trick. She died begging pardon both of God and the king. Thus ended this imposture, than which none was ever blacker. Had it been framed in a darker age, when the world ran mad after visions, the king might have lost his crown. The discovery of this cheat, disposed all sensible people to consider old stories, told concerning the trances of monastical people, as artifices calculated to serve wicked purposes; and this paved the way for the extirpation of monks and friars out of *England*; and consequently forwarded the reformation.

Q. What acts of parliament, conducing to a reformation, passed about this time?

A. Several. By these it was declared, that the king was the supreme head, upon earth, of the church of *England*. That himself, and his successors, should be invested with full authority, to reform all heresies and abuses in the spiritual jurisdiction: that the oath concerning the succession should be confirmed: that the king, being now in the pope's place, should have the first fruits and tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices. That the denying the king any of his titles; or calling him heretic, schismatic, or usurper, should be deemed high treason: and that twenty-six suffragan bishops should be set up over *England*, for the more speedy administration of the sacraments, and the better service of God.

Q. Had cardinal *Wolsey* endeavoured, during his ministry, to oppose the reformation?

A. He treated the new preachers with great lenity: and it is probable that the king had ordered the bishops to discontinue their enquiries after them, as soon as the pope began to use him ill; the advances made, by heresy, being ever considered, in *Rome*, as one of the mischiefs which would follow, should the pope refuse to gratify the king in his desires. However, upon Sir *Thomas More's* coming into favour, he offered new councils; when, imagining that the king's proceeding with severity against hereticks, would

would do his work more effectually with the pope, than all his menaces ; a severe proclamation was thereupon issued, against both the books and persons of the new preachers ; and ordering all the laws, against them, to be put in execution. At this time, *Tindal*, and some others in *Antwerp*, were either writing, or translating, books against some of the received errors, which they sent over to *England*. His translation of the *New Testament* gave the greatest wound, and thence was strongly inveighed against by the clergy. A great many copies of this translation (which was afterwards corrected) were burnt publicly in *Cheapside*. This was called the burning of God's word ; and it was observed, that the clergy had reason to take revenge upon it, it having done them more mischief than any other book. A work entitled, *The Supplication of the Beggars*, writ by *Fish* of *Gray's Inn*, had a great run. The author therein complained, that the alms of the people were intercepted by the Mendicant friars, who were an useless burthen on the government. He also charged the pope with cruelty, for taking no pity on the poor ; since none were delivered out of purgatory, except such as could pay for it. The king was highly pleased with this work, which *More* answered, by a *Supplication in behalf of the Souls in Purgatory*. *More* was answered by *Frith* ; and his book provoked the clergy so much, that they resolved to subject the author to a real fire, for having endeavoured to extinguish their imaginary one.

Q. Did not a persecution break out ?

A. About the year 1530, one was set on foot by Sir *Thomas More*. On this occasion many were imprisoned for teaching their children the Lord's-Prayer in *English* ; for harbouring the new preachers ; and for speaking against the corruptions in the worship, or the vices of the clergy : but most of these abjured. One *Hitton*, who had been a curate, and went over to *Tindal*, was seized, with some books, when returning back ; and, being condemned by archbishop *Warham*, was burnt.

Q. What happened to *Bilney* ?

A. He, (having formerly abjured,) returned to *Cambridge* in 1530, where he fell into great horror of mind.
How-

However, he at last overcame it, and resolved to expiate his former apostasy publickly. To enable himself the better to do this, on more solid grounds, he pursued his studies closely two years. He then left the university, and went into *Norfolk*, where he was born; and preached up and down that county, against idolatry and superstition. He exhorted the people to lead good lives, to bestow much in alms, to believe in Christ; and to offer up their wills and souls unto him, in the sacrament. He openly confessed his own sin in denying the faith; and, using no precaution, as he travelled about, was seized by the bishop's officers; condemned as a relapse, and degraded. Sir *Thomas More* not only sent down the writ to burn *Bilney*; but, in order to make him suffer another way, he affirmed in print, that he had abjured. But this was judged to be mere calumny. *Bilney* bore all the hardships to which he was exposed patiently, and was very chearful after he had received sentence. The poor sustenance brought him, was eat very chearfully; he saying, that he must keep up a ruinous cottage till it fell. The following words of *Isaiab* were often in his mouth, *When thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burnt*. He prepared himself for the fire, by burning his finger in the candle, saying, that it could consume only the stubble of his body, but would purify his soul. He afterwards was burnt. At the stake he repeated the Creed, as a proof that he was a true Christian. He then prayed earnestly; and, with the deepest sense, repeated these words, *Enter not into judgment with thy servant*. Dr. *Warner*, who attended, embraced him; shedding many tears; and wishing he might die in as good a frame of mind as *Bilney* then was. The friars requested him to inform the people, that they had no hand in his death, which he did; so that the last act of his life was full of charity. The sufferings of this man animated others.

Q. Who suffered next?

A. *Byfield*, who had formerly abjured, was seized when dispersing *Tindal's* books; and himself and one *Tewkesbury* were taken and burnt; as also were one man and two women at *York*. The parliament complained to the king of this inhumanity; which, however, did not any ways abate the fury of the clergy. One *Bainham*, a coun-
fellow:

fellor of the *Temple*, was seized on suspicion of heresy; whipt in *More's* presence; and afterwards racked in the *Tower*. But these torments could not force him to accuse any person, and he abjured through fear. Some time after his enlargement, being in great perplexity of mind, he could find no peace till after he had been at church, and there openly confessed his sins; declaring the torments he felt in his conscience, for what he had done. Thereupon he was again seized, and condemned, for asserting, that *Thomas Becket* was a murderer; and was damned, in case he did not repent: and that Christ's body, in the sacrament, was received merely by faith, and not chewed with the teeth. *Stokesly* past sentence on *Bainham*, and he was burnt.

Q. Did not the persecution of the papists extend even to dead bodies?

A. *Tracey* (an ancestor of the present lord of that name,) made a will, wherein he left his soul to God, in hopes of mercy through Christ, without the mediation of any saint; and therefore declared, that he would not leave any thing for soul-masses. This will being brought into the bishop of *London's* court, in order to be proved, after *Tracey's* death; it provoked the clergy so much, that they condemned him as an heretick. Hereupon, an order was issued, to the chancellor of *Worcester*, to take up his body. But the chancellor proceeded so far, as to burn it; an act which was no ways justifiable, as he was not a relapse. *Tracey's* heirs sued the chancellor, who thereupon was fined 400*l.* and removed from his post. The clergy, in order to give the greater sanction to cruelty, now proclaimed an indulgence of forty days pardon, to all who should carry a faggot for burning an heretick. One *Harding*, an aged man, being condemned by *Longland*, bishop of *Lincoln*, and tied to the stake; some wretch hurled a faggot at him with such force, that it dashed out his brains.

Q. Who next fell a sacrifice on this occasion?

A. *Frith*, a young man, greatly famed for his learning; and the first, in *England*, who wrote against the corporal presence in the sacrament. The persecution, which had been discontinued during two years, was again set on foot

at the instigation of bishop *Gardiner*, who told the king, that it would give him great advantage over the pope, by shewing his hatred to heresy. *Frith* followed the doctrine of *Zuinglius* upon the following grounds, *viz.* Christ, being received in the sacrament, gave eternal life : but this to such only as believed ; whence he inferred, that he was received by faith only.—*St. Paul* says, that the fathers, before Christ, eat the same spiritual food with Christians ; whence it appears, that Christ is no more corporally present, to us, than he was to them. And, from the nature of sacraments in general, and the end of the Lord's-Supper, he argued that it was only a commemoration. Yet, from these several premisses, he drew no other conclusion, than that Christ's presence was no article of faith.—*Frith* committed these reasons to writing, which falling into Sir *Thomas More's* hands, he answered them : but *Frith* never saw them till he was thrown into prison ; at which time, though loaded with irons, and without books, (none being allowed him,) he made a reply.—He insisted much on the following article, *viz.* that the *Israelites* did eat the same food, and drank from the same rock, which is Christ : and since Christ was received, by them, only mystically and by faith ; he concluded, that he was now received by faith only. He shewed that Christ's words, *this is my body*, were accommodated to the *Jewish* phrase, of calling the Lamb the Lord's-Passover ; and confirmed his opinion by many passages from the fathers, wherein the elements are called signs and figures of Christ's body : and they declared that those, when consecrated, did not cease to be bread and wine, but still retained their own proper nature. He likewise shewed, that the fathers were quite strangers to all the consequences of this opinion, *viz.* that a body could be in more places than one at the same time : or could be in a place after the manner of a spirit. He yet concluded, that if this opinion were held only speculatively, so as that no adoration were offered to the elements, it might be tolerated ; but the other he condemned, as gross idolatry.

Q. When was *Frith* seized ?

A. In 1533 ; and brought before the bishops *Stokesly*, *Gardiner*, and *Longland*. They objected, to him, his not believing

believing either in purgatory or transubstantiation. *Frith* gave the reasons why he could not consider them as articles of faith : but imagined, at the same time, that they ought not to be positively affirmed or denied. The bishops seemed unwilling to proceed to sentence : but *Frith* continuing resolute, *Stokesly* pronounced it. He then delivered him over to the secular arm ; praying, at the same time, that his punishment might be moderated, and not too rigorous ; nor yet too gentle. *Stokesly*'s obtestation, by the bowels of Christ, was considered as mockery ; as every one knew that he intended *Frith* should be burnt. One *Hewet*, an apprentice of *London*, was condemned with him on the same account. When they were brought into *Smithfield*, *Frith* expressed great joy ; and hugged the faggots with some transport. *Cook*, a priest, who was then present, called out to the people, saying, that they ought not to pray for them, more than they would for dogs. *Frith* only smiled, and prayed God to forgive him. The fire being kindled, they were soon consumed to ashes.

Q. Did the clergy now suspend their cruelty ?

A. Yes ; an act having passed which regulated their procedures. *Philips*, on whose complaint that bill was begun, had been committed on suspicion of heresy. A copy of *Tracey*'s bill was found in his pocket ; and butter and cheese in his chamber, during *Lent*. Being upon this required to abjure, he appealed to the king as supreme head ; and thereupon was set at liberty. The act which had past gave the new preachers, and their followers, some respite. The king was likewise impowered to reform all heresies and idolatries. *Cranmer* was fully convinced of the necessity of a reformation ; and, in order for him to carry it on with judgment, and justify it by proper authorities, he made a large collection of the opinions of the antient fathers, and later doctors, on all the points of religion, making six volumes in folio. Whilst these were forwarding the reformation, another party opposed it as vigorously ; of whom the duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner* were the chief ; and almost all the clergy joined them. The contrariety of these opinions divided the king's mind greatly.

Q. When

Q. When was a general visitation of the monasteries proposed?

A. In 1535. The foundation of all their wealth was the belief of purgatory: and the supposed virtue which was in masses, to redeem souls out of it; and that these eased the torments of departed souls, and at last freed them from such. Hence it was considered as an act of piety towards parents, and a proof of taking care of their souls, to endow these houses with some lands, upon condition that masses should be said in their favour. Some images were supposed to be endowed with an extraordinary virtue; and pilgrimages to them were much extolled. These several orders and houses magnified their own saints, their own images and relicks. Their wealth drew them into great corruptions. These religious (falsely so termed) were generally very dissolute, and grossly ignorant. Their privileges were become a public grievance, and their lives gave great scandal to mankind. But no set of men were so useful to the Roman pontiffs as the Mendicant friars; they, under the appearance of poverty, coarse diet and cloathing, won great esteem; and became almost the only preachers and confessors, at that time in the world.

Q. What was the result of the visitation of the monasteries by archbishop Cranmer, Cromwell, &c. in different parts of England?

A. Monstrous disorders were found in many places. In several houses the sin of *Sodom*, strong factions, and barbarous cruelties were discovered. In others coining tools were seized. Many particulars, not fit to be published, were contained in the report. *Langdon*, in *Kent*, was the first house that surrendered to the king. The abbot was caught in bed with a strumpet, who used to appear in the habit of a lay brother. Thereupon the abbot, and ten of his monks, signed a resignation of their house to the king. Their example was followed by two houses in *Folkstone* and *Dover*, in the same county. And in the following year, (1536,) four other houses surrendered in like manner; as did, next year, four houses more. In 1536 an act passed, for suppressing all monastries under 200*l. per ann.* The act sets forth the great disorders of those houses,

houses, and the many unsuccessful attempts made to reform them; so the religious, inhabiting them, were ordered to be removed into the greater houses, where religion was better observed; and their revenues were given to the king. Those houses were much richer than they seemed to be; some, rated at only 200*l.* *per ann.* were really worth many thousands.

Q. When was a translation of the *Bible* designed?

A. In 1536. *Cranmer* imagined this would be the most effectual means for promoting the reformation. It was finished in three years. An act was now made against the pope's power; and all bulls and privileges flowing from them were declared null and void. At this time new articles of religion, tending towards a reformation, were agreed upon. The pope issued summons's for a general council to be held in *Mantua*, against which the king protested. Visitors were appointed to survey all the lesser monasteries in *England*. Great complaints were made of violence and bribery in these visitors; and, perhaps, not without cause. Ten thousand of these religious were turned adrift, with forty shillings and a gown *per* man. The goods and plate were estimated at 100000*l.* The valued rents of their houses was 32000*l.*; but was really above ten times that sum. Most of the churches and cloisters were pulled down, and the materials sold. This occasioned a general discontent; and the monks were now as much pitied, as they, before, had been hated. The clergy used their utmost endeavours to inflame the people; and built much upon this, *viz.* that an heretical prince, deposed by the pope, ought not to be acknowledged. The pope threatened the king with excommunication, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance, in case he did not appear, or reform many innovations.

Q. What rebellions broke out at this time *?

A. Twenty thousand persons rose in *Lincolnshire*, after they had got in their harvest. They were headed by a priest in the disguise of a cobbler; who all took an oath, to be true to God, to the king, and to the commonwealth. They sent a paper of grievances to the king, complaining: of some acts of parliament; of the sup-

* *Anno* 1536.

pression

pression of many religious houses: of mean and evil counsellors, and bad bishops. They besought the king to redress their grievances, by the advice of the nobility; yet at the same time, they acknowledged him to be their supreme head; and declared that the tenths, and first fruits, belonged to him of right.—The king gave an answer to their petition; and sent the duke of *Suffolk* against them. He required them to submit to his mercy: upon which the king was desired to send them a general pardon; who assuring them, secretly, of mercy, most of them dispersed; after which the cobbler, and some others, were taken and executed.

Q. When did a more formidable rising happen in *Yorkshire*?

A. At the same time; and, as this was in the neighbourhood of *Scotland*, it was apprehended that the rebels would procure assistance from that kingdom. One *Ask* was their chief, and he acted his part very dextrously. Their march was called *The Pilgrimage of Grace*. These had, in their banners, and on their sleeves, the five wounds of Christ. They took an oath, that they would restore the church, extirpate hereticks, preserve the king and his issue; and drive away, from his presence, base-born men, and evil counsellors. In a few days they became forty thousand strong, without meeting any opposition. There also was a rising in all the other counties in the north, against which the earl of *Sherwbury* made head. He was afterwards joined by the duke of *Norfolk*. The mutineers sent the following demands to the king, viz.—A general pardon: a parliament to be held at *York*, and courts of justice to be set up there: some acts of parliament to be repealed: princess *Mary* to be restored to her right of succession, and the pope to his wonted jurisdiction: the monasteries to be again set up: *Audley* and *Cromwell* to be drove from the king: and some of the visitors to be imprisoned for their bribery and extortion.—These demands were rejected. The king answered them; and, among other particulars, said, that the rabble should not prescribe to him. That, if they had any complaints to make with regard to those about him, he was ready to hear them; but that he would not suffer

suffer them to direct, with regard to what counsellors he should employ. He afterwards signed a pardon without any restrictions. Some battles were fought after this, and many persons were executed: at last a general oblivion was proclaimed, and peace restored to the harassed country.

Q. When did the greater monasteries resign to the king?

A. In 1537, when a new visitation was appointed. Some of these religious were found guilty of great disorders in their lives; and they, to prevent a shameful discovery, offered their houses to the king. Many abbots and monks were glad to accept of a pension for life. This year, 121 religious houses resigned to the king. In most monasteries, the visitors obliged the monks to sign a confession of their former vices and irregularities. In one of these the monks acknowledged their idleness, gluttony and sensuality, for which they said the pit of hell was ready to swallow them up. Endeavours were used to preserve some of these houses, and particularly the nunnery of *Godstow*; as the visitors found great strictness of life in it; and, as it was the school in which the young ladies of quality, in *Oxfordshire*, were educated. Such quick dispatch was made in these resignations, that 159 houses surrendered, before the meeting of the parliament. After this, some abbots were put to death, for having joined in the rebellion. Many of the Carthusians were executed for denying the king's supremacy. Others were likewise suspected of favouring them; and of receiving books, from abroad, against the king's proceedings. These were shut up in their convents, where most of them died. Great complaints were made of the visitors, as though many unjust practices had been used, to oblige the abbots and monks to surrender. But it is certain, that many vile practices had been committed by them. The prior of the Crossed friars, in *London*, was caught in bed with a woman at noon-day. He fell upon his knees, beseeching those who caught him unawares, not to reveal his shame; and gave them 30 *l.* to keep it secret.

Q. What discoveries were now made, with regard to the imposture of relicks and images?

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A. At *Reading*, the religious pretended to have an angel's wing, which had wafted over the point of the spear, that pierced our Saviour's side. As many pieces of Christ's cross were found as would make a large cross. The rood of grace, at *Boxley* in *Kent*, had been in high esteem, and drawn many pilgrims. It was observed to bow, and roll its eyes; and look, at times, pleased or angry; which the credulous multitude imputed to a divine power. But the whole was discovered to be a cheat; and being brought up to *St. Paul's* cross, all the springs were opened, which shewed its several motions. At *Hales* in *Gloucestershire*, Christ's blood was shewn in a vial; and it was thought invisible to all who were in mortal sin: and so, after valuable presents had been made, the pilgrims, when they perceived it, went away well satisfied. But this was only the blood of a duck, (renewed every week,) which was poured into a vial, very thick on one side, and thin on the other: and the priests turned either side to the pilgrims, according as they were satisfied with the oblations. The Virgin *Mary's* girdle was shewn in eleven places, and her milk in eight. The felt of *St. Thomas* of *Lancaster*, was a remedy for the head-ach. The penknife and boots of *St. Thomas* of *Canterbury*, and a piece of his shirt, were greatly revered by pregnant women. High regard was also paid, to the coals which roasted *St. Lawrence*; to two or three heads of *St. Ursula*; to *Malchus's* ear, and to the paring of *St. Edmund's* nails; to an image of our lady, with a taper in her hand, which burnt nine years together without wasting; till one forswearing himself thereon, it went out, and was then found to be only a piece of wood. Many more such impostures were discovered, which contributed greatly to the undeceiving of the people, whose stupidity, before this, was inconceivable. Afterwards the shrine of *Thomas Becket* (the richest in *England*) at *Canterbury* was broke to pieces. His altar had drawn far greater oblations, than those of our Saviour, or the Virgin *Mary*; and sometimes one hundred thousand pilgrims used to assemble at it, in order to obtain indulgences. For these demolitions the pope had thundered out anathemas against the king in 1535; they representing him as the most sacrilegious

religious tyrant that had ever lived. To oppose these, the king published a declaration subscribed by all the bishops, and eminent divines, in *England*. In 1537, the translation of the *Bible* was finished; and was afterwards printed, in *England*, by *Grafton*.

Q. When was *Lambert* persecuted?

A. In 1538. He had been chaplain to the factory at *Antwerp*, where he associated himself with *Tindal*. He was seized for denying the corporal presence, the king himself sitting as his judge. *Lambert* refusing to comply with the desires of the court, *Cromwell* past sentence upon him. A little after this, he was executed in a most barbarous manner, in *Smithfield*; for as there was not fire sufficient to consume him suddenly, his legs and thighs were burnt away, whilst he was yet alive. However, he bore these torments with patience, and continued to cry out; *None but Christ!* *Lambert* was a man of considerable learning, and good judgment. The popish party were greatly pleased with this sacrifice; and persuaded the king, that it would have a very good effect on the people. In *April* 1539, passed an act for abolishing diversity of opinions, in certain articles concerning the Christian religion. This is commonly called the BLOODY STATUTE; hanging, or burning, being enacted against those, who should not comply with six articles in matters of religion. *Gardiner* was the author of these six articles, which *Cranmer* strongly opposed, but in vain.

Q. When was *Thomas*, lord *Cromwell*, executed?

A. In 1540. He had been lord privy-seal, lord chamberlain of *England*, lord vice-gerent, knight of the garter, &c. Though raised to these high honours, he was the son of a blacksmith; for which he was envied by the nobility. All the popish clergy hated him violently; they imputing, chiefly to his counsels, the suppression of the monasteries. King *Henry* wanted to cast, upon him, all the errors which had been lately committed; and hoped he should regain the affections of his people, by making *Cromwell* a sacrifice. His fall was so sudden, that he himself had not the least apprehension of it, before the storm broke round him. He met with the common fate of all disgraced ministers, viz. to be forsaken by
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his friends, (*Cranmer* excepted,) and insulted by his enemies. *Cromwell* was attainted both of high-treason and heresy, without being heard; a most unjust practice! At his execution, he thanked God for bringing him to die in that manner. He desired the prayers of all the spectators, and prayed very fervently for himself. He had behaved, in his grandeur, with extraordinary moderation; and fell under the weight of popular odium, rather than guilt. With him fell the office of the king's vice-gerent; and no one, after him, aspired to a character, which had proved so fatal to him who was first raised to it. It was thought that the king lamented his death when it was too late. With his fall the progress of the reformation stopped.

Q. When did the popish party excite the king to fresh severity against the reformers?

A. In 1540; and this fell on *Barnes*, *Gerrard*, and *Jerom*, who all had early imbibed *Luther's* doctrine. *Barnes* had very much reflected on *Wolsey*, during his greatness; but *Gardiner* brought him off. After being thrown into prison, he escaped from thence, and fled to *Germany*; and became so considerable, that he was sent over to *England* by the king of *Denmark*, as chaplain to his ambassadors; but *Barnes* went back again. He afterwards was much employed in the negotiations between the king and the *Germans*. The three divines above mentioned, were appointed to preach in their turns, at *St. Paul's Cross*; and *Gardiner* also preached there, upon the subject of justification. *Barnes* and the other two, refuted his sermon, and reflected with some indecency on his person. This being told the king, he commanded them to go and give him satisfaction. *Barnes*, and his friends, were afterwards ordered to preach a recantation sermon at the Spittle; but this gave such offence, that the king ordered them to the *Tower*, without giving them a hearing. At the meeting of the parliament they were attainted of heresy, and condemned to be burnt, as detestable hereticks. *Barnes* being tied to the stake, repeated some articles of the Creed, and declared his belief of them all; adding, that he abhorred the impious opinion of some *German* anabaptists. He asked the sheriffs, and the people, if they knew the reason why they had been

been condemned, and what heresies they were charged with; but no answer was made them. He intreated God to forgive all who sought their deaths, and *Gardiner* in particular, in case he had done it. He then prayed for the king and prince, and expressed his loyalty to his majesty. He sent some requests to the king, as that he would apply the abbey-lands to a good use, and the relief of his poor subjects. That he would punish the contempt of marriage; and check the liberty which many men took of forsaking their wives, and living in fornication. That swearers might be punished; and that, since the king had begun to set forth the Christian religion, he besought him to proceed in it, since much more remained to be done. Then the other two divines spake to the same effect. They made a declaration of their faith, exhorting the people to a good life, and mutual love: when, all three praying and embracing one another, the fire was kindled, and they were burnt. The constancy they shewed on this sad occasion, with their gentle behaviour to their enemies, made a strong impression on the spectators, and threw a great odium on *Gardiner*, he being supposed to be the author of their misfortunes; though he afterwards endeavoured to justify himself in a printed apology.

Q. On what occasion did *Bonner* shew his brutal cruelty, and want of judgment?

A. In his prosecution of one *Mekins*, a youth of fifteen years old; merely for his having said something against the corporal presence, and for his praising *Barnes*. The witnesses differed in their evidence; one swearing that *Mekins* had said, that the sacrament was only a ceremony; the other, that he had declared it to be only a signification: so two grand-juries returned an ignoramus upon the bill; upon which *Bonner* fell into a violent fit of cursing, and obliged the second grand-jury to go aside, and consider better of it; when being terrified, they found the bill, and *Mekins* was sentenced to be burnt. However, hoping to be saved, by what he should say at the stake, he then railed at *Barnes*, and praised *Bonner* to the skies; but all to no purpose. *Bonner*, then bishop of *London*, distinguished himself by a fury unbecoming not only a Christian and a clergyman, but even a canibal. From this

time, the executions, of the protestants, were continued with a barbarity which clearly shewed, that those by whom they were ordered, were not at all forced. The bishops condemned, without mercy, all who were brought before them; and the civil magistrates executed the sentences even more rigorously than was commanded by the laws. Two others were burnt in *Salisbury*, and two in *Lincoln*; besides which many were imprisoned.

Q. When did the persecution break out again?

A. Anno 1542, at *Windsor*. Person, a priest, *Tistwood* and *Marbeck*, two singing men, and *Filmer*, a townsman of *Windsor*, were informed against by Dr. *London*; who formerly had insinuated himself greatly into *Cromwell's* favour, and shewed strong zeal in suppressing the monasteries; but now made his court, with equal cunning, to the popish clergy. *Gardiner* moved in council, that a commission might be issued, to search all suspected houses for books writ against the six articles; and some of these books were found in the custody of the four persons above mentioned, who thereupon were seized. Sir *Philip Hobbey*, and Dr. *Hains*, dean of *Exeter*, were also imprisoned. A concordance of the *Bib'e*, and some notes upon it, in *English*, was found, writ by *Marbeck*; which, however, was supposed to be the work of some learned man, as he was known to be illiterate. *Marbeck* declared that the notes were all his own; and that he had collected them out of such books as he had met with. And, with regard to the concordance, he said he had compiled it by the help of a *Latin* one, with an *English Bible*; he understanding little *Latin*. He had carried his concordance so far as the letter L. This was judged incredible, and imagined to be only a pretence, in order to conceal the name of the true author. To try him, therefore, they shut him up, giving him some words of the letter M, with only a *Latin* concordance, and an *English Bible*. *Marbeck* performed his task so well, as made it evident that the whole work was his own; whence all admired his abilities and industry. News of this being brought to the king, he said, that *Marbeck* was better employed than those were who had examined him; so he was preserved; but the rest were condemned, for some words spoken by them
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against the mass. Dr. *London*, and one *Simonds*, an attorney, had taken informations against many persons of quality at court, and intended to have proceeded to very great lengths. But a large packet, giving an account of their whole project, being intercepted, they were sent for, and examined concerning it. However, they denied it upon oath, not knowing that their packet was seized; but how great was their confusion, when they were shewn their own hand-writings! They thereupon were convicted of perjury; so were pilloryed, and made to ride about in three several places, with their faces to the horses tails, and papers on their breasts. This ignominious punishment affected Dr. *London* to such a degree, that he died soon after.

Q. What were the persecutions in 1546?

A. A new one broke out against those who denied the corporal presence in the sacrament. *Shaxton* was accused on this occasion, but he abjured; and complied so entirely, that he soon after preached the sermon at the burning of *Anne Aiscough*. He made no noise during the reign of king *Edward*; but, became a persecutor of protestants under queen *Mary*; notwithstanding which, he was in such little esteem, that he was only made suffragan bishop of *Ely*, though he had been bishop of *Salisbury*. Many others were indicted at this time upon the same statute, but most of them recanted. But *Anne Aiscough* stood firm. She was of a good family, and had been well educated. She was unhappily married, her husband being a papist, who, when he found her inclined to the reformation, drove her out of his house. She was imprisoned on account of the sacrament, but signing a recantation, was set at liberty. Not long after she was imprisoned again, and examined before the privy-council. She answered with great resolution; but some thought her too forward in speaking. She had much frequented the court, and was thought to be supported by some ladies there: to discover this, she was carried to the *Tower*, and racked, but confessed nothing. *Wriothesly*, then lord chancellor, being present, commanded the lieutenant of the *Tower* to draw the rack a little more; which the other refusing, the chancellor threw by his gown, and himself drew it with so

much violence, as though he would have tore her body to pieces. The effects of this torture were so violent, that she was not able to go to *Smithfield*, so was carried thither in a chair, and burnt. Two others were also condemned on the same account; when *Shaxton*, to complete his apostacy, after having persuaded them, though in vain, to abjure, preached the sermon at their execution; in which he inveighed with great severity against their errors. The lord chancellor went to *Smithfield*, and there offered them a pardon, provided they would recant; but they chose to glorify God by their death, rather than to dishonour him by so shocking an apostacy. This year, two were burnt in *Suffolk*, and one in *Norfolk*, on the same account.

Q. What were the cruelties exercised by *Henry VIII.* against the Romish priests?

A. He prosecuted them out of hatred to the papal authority. In *Easter-term* 1535, three priors, and a monk of the Carthusian order, (which the king hated most,) were declared guilty of treason, for having said that the king was not supreme head of the church of *England*. At the same time *Hall*, a secular priest, was condemned as guilty of high-treason, for calling the king a tyrant, a heretick, a robber, and an adulterer: and declaring, that he would die like king *John*, or *Richard III.* and that it would never be well with the church, till the king should be brought to pot: that it was expected *Ireland* and *Wales* would rise; and that they were assured three parts, in four, of the people of *England* would join them. They all pleaded not guilty; but being condemned, justified all they had before asserted. The Carthusians were hanged in their habits. Soon after, three Carthusians were condemned, and executed in *London*; and two in *York*, for opposing the king's supremacy. Ten other monks were shut up in their cells, nine of whom died in them; and one was condemned and hanged. These had all been accomplices in the affair of the maid of *Kent*: and though that imposture had been pardoned, it gave the government a handle for keeping a watchful eye over them; and for proceeding with greater severity against them upon the least provocation. In

1547, *Fisher*, bishop of *Rocheſter*, and Sir *Thomas More*, were beheaded for denying the king's ſupremacy. One *Forreſt*, an Obſervant-friar, who had been queen *Catherine's* confeſſor, after having ſwore to the king's ſupremacy, alienated many from it. He was looked upon as a reproach to his order, and had exerciſed great cruelty in their houſe at *Greenwich*. He cloſely confined one, who, he imagined, gave private intelligence to the court, of all their machinations; and treated him with ſuch ſeverity, that he died under his hands. He offered to recant; but being afterwards diverted from it, he was condemned as an heretick, and burnt. A huge image, which had been brought from *Wales*, was cut to pieces, and ſerved as fuel to burn him. Under this reign, a new, and unheard of precedent was made, *viz.* of attainting perſons without permitting them to answer. This caſt an indelible ſtigmata on *Henry VIIIth's* adminiſtration; it being a breach of the moſt ſacred and unalterable rules of juſtice. That monarch died in *January* 1547. The ſeverities exerciſed, by him, againſt many of his ſubjects, in matters of religion, occaſioned both ſides to write againſt him with great bitterneſs. In all the executions, on account of denying the king's ſupremacy, it muſt be confeſſed that the laws were exceſſively ſevere; and that the proceedings, upon them, were never tempered with that mildneſs which ſhould frequently be employed, in order to ſoften the rigour of penal laws.

Q. When did *Edward* the VIth ſucceed to the crown?

A. In 1547. He was then about ten years old, and the only ſon of king *Henry*, by his beſt beloved wife *Jane Seymour*. At ſix years of age he had been put into the hands of Dr. *Cox* and Mr. *Cheek*. The one was to form his mind, and teach him philoſophy and divinity: the other to inſtruct him in languages and the mathematicks. Other maſters were likewiſe appointed for the reſt of the branches of education. King *Edward* had diſcovered, very early, a ſtrong diſpoſition to religion and virtue, and a particular reverence for the ſacred writings; he being much offended with a perſon, who laid a great *Bible* upon the floor, in order to reach ſomething which he could not conveniently do without this help. He im-

proved greatly in learning; and when but eight years old, he wrote letters to the king, to queen *Catherine Parr*, and others. By king *Henry's* will, sixteen persons were named to be governors of the kingdom, and of his son's person, till he should be eighteen years of age. Presently after, the earl of *Hartford* was appointed governor of the king's person; upon which two parties were formed, the one headed by him, and the other by *Wriothesly*, lord chancellor; the former favouring the new preachers, and the latter opposing them.

Q. What was the first step made, towards a reformation, in king *Edward's* reign?

A. The pulling down images, which arose from the following accident. The curate and church-wardens of *St. Martin's*, in *London*, were brought before the council, for removing the crucifix, and other images; and for putting up some texts of scripture, on the church walls, in the place where those images had stood. They answered, that, in repairing their church, they had removed the images; and these being rotten, they did not get new ones made, but had set up texts of scripture in their stead. They likewise had removed others, of which an idolatrous use had been made. The popish party employed their utmost endeavours to get them punished, in order to strike a terror into others: but *Cranmer* was for removing all images set up in churches, as being contrary to the second commandment, and to the practice of the Christians in different ages. The monks had greatly enriched themselves by the cheats they imployed on occasion of image worship. These things considered, it seemed most reasonable to cure the disease in it's root; and to clear the church of images, that so the people might be preserved from idolatry. The curate and church-wardens were therefore dismissed with only a reprimand. The people now growing more enlightened, began to examine the usefulness of soul-masses and obits. *Obit* was the anniversary of a person's death; and to observe such day with prayers, alms, or other commemoration, was termed keeping of the *obit*. As *chantries* are mentioned in this work, I shall observe, that a *chantry* was a little church, chapel, or particular altar, in some cathedral church, &c. endowed

dowed with lands, or other revenues, for the maintenance of one or more priests, to sing mass daily; and perform divine service for the souls of the founders, and such others as they appointed. *Free-chapels* were independant from any church, and endowed for much the same purpose as the chantries. Of these chantries and free-chapels, there were in the kingdom 2374. About this time the earl of *Hartford* was made duke of *Somerset*, and protector, and the famous council of *Trent* was opened. Many of the bishops were ignorant, mean spirited men, raised merely by court favour, who were little concerned for any thing but their revenues. *Cranmer* was resolved to proceed by degrees, and to give reasons for every advance which was making. This was done so fully, that he hoped, by God's blessing, to make the people sensible of what it was proper for them to do; and thereby prevent any dangerous opposition, which otherwise might have been feared.

Q. What farther progress was making towards a reformation?

A. A visitation of all the churches in *England* was appointed, and a book of homilies compiled. A *Bible* was ordered for every church; as likewise an *English* translation of *Erasmus's* paraphrase upon the *New Testament*. All customs, tending to superstition, were commanded to be abolished. Injunctions were issued, for reading the scriptures, and saying the litany in *English*; for frequent sermons and catechising; for the exemplary lives of the clergy, and their labours in visiting the sick; also for the other parts of their function, such as reconciling differences, and exhorting their people to charity. Simoniacal contracts were likewise strongly condemned. A special charge was also given for the strict observance of the Lord's day. Prayers were directed, for the king, the royal family, and all orders of the kingdom. Injunctions were likewise made, with regard to ordinations, and to the preaching of bishops and their chaplains. The prayer, for souls departed, was now to be only a prayer for the consummation of their happiness at the last day. The parliament meeting, many acts were repealed, and others past; such as for the communion in both kinds, for the nomination.

nomination of bishops, and against idle vagabonds, who were to be made slaves by any who should seize them. This was levelled chiefly against some vagrant monks, who rambled about the country; infusing, into the people, a dislike of the government. But this act was thought so severe, that the people did not care to put it in execution. An act also passed for the dissolution of chantries. The last act was for a general pardon, but clogged with some exceptions. The convocation sat at the same time.

Q. What ceremonies were now abrogated?

A. *Wakes* and *Plough-Mondays* were suppressed. The rabble loved those diversions; and imagined that, without them, divine service would be but a dull business; but others considered them as relicks of paganism. *Cranmer* procured an order of council, for annulling the carrying candles on *Candlemas-Day*, ashes on *Ash-Wednesday*, and palms on *Palm-Sunday*. The ceremonies of creeping to the cross, and taking holy bread and water, were put down. This was followed by a general order, for removing all images out of churches, which occasioned great contests every where. Such images as represented the Trinity, as a man with three faces in one head; or as an old man, with a young man before him, and a dove over his head; and some, in which the blessed virgin was represented as assumed into it, gave such great offence, that it is no wonder multitudes of people, as they became better enlightened, could no longer bear with them. A letter was writ to all preachers, requiring them to exhort the people to amend their lives, and forsake superstition: but to bear with things not yet changed; and not anticipate those whom it was their duty to obey. A new office for the communion was set forth; but confession was left indifferent, which offended many. The trade of indulgences was now thrown out of the church. The friars used to sell these with as much artful confidence as mountebanks do their medicines: but with this advantage, that the inefficacy of their devices, was not so easily discovered; the people believing all that the priests told them. This enormity was carried to so shameful a height, that indulgences, for years; nay, for an hundred, a thousand, a million, were granted for saying certain collects;

lects ; so cheap a thing was heaven made ! *Gardiner* was imprisoned, for secretly opposing, as was alledged, all reformation.

2. When was a new liturgy composed ?

A. In 1548, in order that the whole nation might have an uniformity in the worship of God. It was then judged proper to bring the worship to a fit medium, *viz.* between superstitious pomp, and nakedness. The government resolved not to change any thing, merely in opposition to received practices ; but rather, in imitation of what Christ did, in the institution of the two sacraments of the gospel ; which consisted of rites used by the *Jews*, but applied, by him, to higher purposes. All the consecrations of water, salt, &c. practised in the church of *Rome*, were considered as the relicks of paganism, and so were laid aside : for as devils were adjured, by these, and a supposed divine virtue was imagined to reside in them ; the vulgar came, at last, to fancy that they, by the observance of these, would certainly go to heaven. Absolutions were rejected, as looking like gross impostures ; the people, in their last moments, purchasing the favour of the priests, at a certain price ; which was thought the only way to die with sure hopes. It was resolved to have the whole worship in the *English* tongue ; as the keeping it, in an unknown one, had preserved, in the dark ages, an esteem for their offices, wherein were certain prayers, hymns, and lessons, which had the people understood, must have given great scandal. It was judged proper that the priests should be decently habited, as became the worship of God : and white being expressive of innocence, was continued. No confession or absolution was inserted. Regulations were made with regard to private communion. At funerals, the departed soul was recommended to God's mercy. The liturgy, thus compiled, was published with a preface relating to ceremonies ; writ with extraordinary judgment and temper, and the same that is now extant. While these changes were preparing, mighty feuds broke out every where, and great contradictions were heard from the pulpits ; some commending all the old customs, and others inveighing as strongly against them. For this reason a

proclamation was issued, restraining all preaching, till the order, which was then in the hands of the bishops, should be finished; the people being commanded in the meantime, to pray for a blessing on what was preparing, and to hear the homilies. In 1549, an act passed for the marriage of the clergy. It was clear, that their celibacy was not founded on the laws of God; and it was judged a sin, to force churchmen to make a vow, which it sometimes was not in their power to keep. Many leud stories were now published concerning the clergy: but none was more remarkable than that told of the pope's legate, in the reign of *Henry II*, who was found in bed with a curtezan, the very same night that he had removed the married clergy from their benefices. Another act past, confirming the liturgy, which was now finished; eight bishops, and three temporal lords, protesting against it. It was enacted, that if any clergyman used other offices, for the first offence, he should be imprisoned six months; lose his benefice for a second; and be imprisoned, during life, for the third offence. Another act past concerning fasting, as being a great help to virtue; and to make the body subject to the mind. Fast-days were turned into a mockery by the church of *Rome*; as its followers dined, drank wine, and eat fish exquisitely well dressed.

Q. How were some of the anabaptists treated at this time?

A. With great severity. Their doctrine had been brought out of *Germany*, where they had raised a cruel war, and set up a new king in *Munster*. Their errors were, that there was not a trinity of persons; that Christ was not God, and took not flesh of the virgin; and that a regenerate man could not sin. One *Joan Bocher*, called *Joan of Kent*, adhering to these principles, was condemned as an obstinate heretick, and delivered over to the secular arm. But it was with great difficulty that the king could be persuaded to sign the warrant for her execution; he considering it as an instance of the same cruel spirit, for which the reformers censured the papists. However, archbishop *Cranmer* said, that the king, being God's lieutenant, was bound to punish offences committed against the Divine Majesty. These arguments rather silenced than satisfied

satisfied the young king, who, signing the warrant with tears in his eyes, said to *Cranmer* ; that as he resigned up himself, in that matter, in case he sinned, it must lie at *Cranmer's* door.—She was burnt ; but was thought fitter for *Bedlam*, than a stake. Sometime after *George Van Parre*, a *Dutchman*, was likewise condemned and burnt, for denying the Divinity of Christ. He had led a very exemplary life, and suffered with extraordinary composure of mind. These things cast a great blemish upon the reformers ; and it was said, that they only condemned cruelty, when turned upon themselves ; but were ready to practise it, when they themselves were in power. The papists made great use of this afterwards, in queen *Mary's* reign. Another set of people started up, who greatly abused the doctrine of predestination ; imagining that they might live as they pleased, since nothing could resist an absolute decree.

Q. When were the articles of religion, which contained the doctrine of the church of *England*, agreed upon ?

A. First in 1551, when they consisted of forty-two articles ; and afterwards in the beginning of queen *Elizabeth's* reign, when they were reduced to thirty-nine, as they now stand. The greatest care was taken, to frame these articles in the most comprehensive words, and with all imaginable simplicity. The book of *Common Prayer* was afterwards revised, and some alterations made in it. Several things were now expunged, such as the *chrism* ; the employing the cross in consecrating the *eucharist* ; prayers for the dead ; and some expressions which favoured transubstantiation ; and the *Common Prayer Book* was put in the same order and method in which it continues to this day, if we except a few inconsiderable variations which have been made since. Lady *Mary* (afterwards queen) was brought into trouble, on account of having mass said in her house ; but lady *Elizabeth*, her sister, conformed in all things to the laws ; she having been well instructed in the Christian religion by *Dr. Parker*, to whose care she had been recommended by her dying mother. About this time the duke of *Somerset*, protector, and uncle to the king, was beheaded
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on *Tower-bill*. The crime imputed to him was, his intending to imprison the duke of *Northumberland*; but many believe that the conspiracy, for which the protector, and four more suffered, was a mere forgery. He was endowed with extraordinary virtues; had been eminent for his candour and piety; a promoter of justice, and the patron of the oppressed. By the establishment of the thirty-nine articles, the reformation, in worship and doctrine, was now brought to great perfection. But another branch of it, (left unfinished,) was then under consultation, concerning the government of the church, and the rules of the ecclesiastical courts. But king *Edward* left the world before they were compleated.

Q. When did *Edward* the VIth die?

A. In 1553, in the sixteenth year of his age. He was considered as the wonder of his time; he being not only skilled in languages, and the liberal sciences, but was well acquainted with the state of his kingdom. He kept a table book, wherein he writ the characters of all the eminent men in the nation. He studied fortifications, and knew the mint well; as likewise the harbours in all his dominions, with their depth of water, and the way of coming into them. He understood foreign affairs, and used to take notes of every thing he heard. His virtues were very conspicuous, and his temper merciful. He was particularly careful of petitions given him by the poor, and by persons labouring under oppression; but his signal love for religion was the crown of all his other virtues: Hence some called him their *Josias*; others *Edward the Saint*; and others again the *Phoenix*, which rose out of his mother's ashes.

Q. When was princess *Mary* proclaimed queen?

A. The 19th of *July* 1553. She was daughter to *Henry VIII*, by *Catherine*, infanta of *Spain*. Before this, viz. on the 5th of *July*, the lady *Jane Grey*, daughter to the duke of *Suffolk*, had been proclaimed queen, though greatly against her inclinations, in prejudice to *Mary*; but lady *Jane*, who was one of the brightest ornaments of her sex, both in mind and person, was beheaded the year after. Queen *Mary* being seated on the throne, bishop *Gardiner*, and all who had complied in the former reign,

reign, were of opinion, that her first endeavours should be to bring things back to the state in which they were when her father died ; and that she afterwards might return, by slow and easy steps, to the obedience of the see of *Rome* ; but she herself was more inclined to return to it immediately, imagining that, by it's means only, she could be legitimated. Soon after this *Gardiner* was made chancellor, and the conduct of affairs were put into his hands. *August* 22, 1553, the queen declared in council, that although she herself was fixed in her religion, she yet would not use force with regard to others ; but leave all to the impulse of God's spirit, and the labour of good preachers. The day after, *Bonner* went to *St. Paul's* ; when *Bourn*, his chaplain, preached ; extolling *Bonner* greatly ; and inveighing strongly, with regard to his sufferings in the former reign. Upon this, a tumult ensued ; the people not suffering any reflections to be made on king *Edward's* memory. Some flung stones at the preacher ; and one threw a dagger at the pulpit, with such force, that it stuck fast in the wood. *Bourn* had taken occasion from the gospel of the day, to enlarge much in justification of *Bonner*, who was present ; saying that *Bonner* had preached in the very same place, and upon the same text, that day four years : and had, upon that very account, been thrown most unjustly and most cruelly into the most vile dungeon of the *Marshalsea*, and kept there during the reign of king *Edward*.—This sermon reflected so highly on king *Edward*, and sounded so ill in the ears of the congregation, to whom this monarch's memory was justly dear ; that they proceeded to the extremities above mentioned. Now all the pulpits were put under an interdict, till the preachers should obtain a licence from *Gardiner* ; and he was resolved to grant none, except to those who should preach as he directed.

Q. What ensued thereupon ?

A. Some of the *Suffolk* people, to whom the queen owed great obligations, put her in mind of the promise she had made, of not disturbing them on account of religion ; but these she dismissed with a cold answer, saying, that they must learn to obey ; and not presume to govern her.

her. And one who had spoke more confidently than the rest, was set in the pillory three days, as having said words which tended to defame the queen. But her thus making the claims to promises a crime, was thought to prognosticate a severe government. *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Tonstal*, *Heath* and *Dey*, were all restored to their bishopricks, of which they had been deprived in the former reign. *Gardiner* was authorized to grant licences for priests to preach in such churches as he should nominate; by which means the reformers were not only silenced; but their pulpits thrown open to such as *Gardiner* should think fit to appoint to preach in them. The reformed divines observing, that this was done purposely to extinguish the light of the gospel; many of them resolved to go on, and preach at their peril, for which they were imprisoned. The people, being fond of the old superstition, began now to set up images, and the antient rites, in many places. Judge *Hales*, being upon the circuit in *Kent*, and giving his charge, in opposition to the above measures, was committed; and afterwards shifted from prison to prison; all which, together with the menaces that were employed, terrified him to such a degree, that he cut his own throat, but not mortally. Recovering afterwards, he made his submission, and was set at liberty. But he never could free himself from his disorder, and at last drowned himself.

Q. In what situation was archbishop *Cranmer* at this juncture?

A. He kept quiet for some time, which gave the popish party occasion to give out, that he was resolved to turn with the tide. Whereupon *Bonner*, in a letter to a friend, said that Mr. *Canterbury* (for so he called *Cranmer* in derision) was become very humble: however, that this should not serve his turn; for that he would soon be sent to the *Tower*. Some advised *Cranmer* to fly beyond sea; to which he replied, that though he would not dissuade others from escaping the persecution with which they were menaced; yet that this would be quite unbecoming a man, in his station, who had so great a share in the changes formerly made. Hereupon he drew up a writing, which he intended to have published; when a copy of it getting abroad, and being read publickly in *Cheapside*, *Cranmer* was cited to
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the *Star-chamber*; and being heard, was dismissed; but a week after, himself, *Latimer*, and many other preachers, were committed to prison. Some moved that a small pension might be assigned to *Cranmer*, and that he should be permitted to live private: for the sweetness of his temper had procured him such universal love, that it was thought dangerous to proceed to extremities with respect to him. But others said, that as he had been the principal author of all the heresy with which the nation was infected; it would not appear decent, in the queen, should she shew the least favour to a man, who had pronounced the sentence of her mother's divorce. The reformed foreigners, among whom were *Peter Martyr*, and *a Lasco*, were drove out of the kingdom.

Q. What measures were afterwards taken?

A. A bill passed, repealing all the laws, concerning religion, made under *Edward VI.* It was argued six days in the *House of Commons*, and carried without a division. Thus was religion put back to the state in which king *Henry* had left it; and this was to take place the twentieth of *December* ensuing; till when, all persons were allowed to use the old, or new service, as they might judge proper. Some other acts also passed, to promote the cause of popery. *Cranmer* was degraded soon after. In the mean time, the queen was engaged, secretly, in a treaty with the pope, to reconcile her kingdom to the apostolic see; which put the parliament into some disorder; as also on account of a match proposed between her, and *Philip* of *Spain*, son to the emperor *Charles V.* which was afterwards brought about, by the artifices of *Gardiner*, and a corrupt *House of Commons.* And now a convocation met, and disputed, with great heat, about the sacraments.

Q. How did the nation like this match?

A. It gave great disgust; the people considering the mighty offers made by the emperor *Charles V.* as so many baits to enslave them. The great severity exercised in all the provinces united to his crown, and the monstrous cruelties practised by the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, were universally talked of; and it was said, that now was the time for the *English*, either to preserve themselves, or to be forever enslaved. About this time *Carew* and *Wiat* undertook to
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raise the people ; the one in *Cornwall*, and the other in *Kent* ; whilst the duke of *Suffolk* promised to raise the midland counties ; the people in general seeming ripe for rebellion. But things were afterwards quieted, and *Wiat*, with a great many more, were condemned and executed. The following imposture was discovered in *London*. A person seemed to speak out of a wall, in a strange tone of voice. Vast numbers of people flocked about the house ; when many particulars, relating both to religion and the state, were uttered. At last it appeared, that one *Elizabeth Crofts*, by the help of a whistle, spoke all the words in question through a hole in the wall. One *Drake* was found to be an accomplice ; and both were made to do penance, publickly, in *St. Paul's*. Injunctions were sent to the bishops in favour of the cause of popery ; and seven reformed bishops were deposed. By these several deprivations and resignations, sixteen new bishops were made ; which caused no small change in the face of the *English* church. Twelve thousand clergymen were summarily deprived, for being married ; and the old service was now set up every where.

Q. When were there remarkable disputations, at *Oxford*, between the reformed and the papists ?

A. In 1554, a committee, of the ablest among the latter, were sent to dispute with *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer* ; and the points to be argued upon were transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass. The whole dispute was carried on with such hissing and insulting, and ended with such shouts of triumph, on the side of the papists, as though *Cranmer* had been defeated ; that it was plain the only thing intended, was to abuse the ignorant people ; and to make them believe that he was quite overthrown. *Ridley* was brought in next day, when the disputations were carried on with the same insultings as the preceding. *Latimer* was brought out the day following. He told them, that he was fourscore years old, and not fit for controversies ; and added, that he would declare his opinion, and leave them to say what they pleased. Hereupon extraordinary shouts were heard ; and, during all the debates, so great was the noise and disorder, that the whole seemed a bear-baiting, rather than a controversy between divines.

divines. Four or five spoke together, whence it was impossible to hear what was said, much less to give any answer. The committee of convocation condemned them all as obstinate hereticks, and declared them not members of the church. The like disputations were also intended in *Cambridge*, where the popish party imagined they should erect the same specious trophies as they had done in *Oxford*.

Q. What was done by the new popish bishops?

A. They made a visitation this summer, to examine whether the old service, with all its rites, was again set up. They also made many other enquiries. On this occasion *Bonner* behaved like a madman; and his friends, in order to excuse the violence of his rage, said that his brains were a little disordered by his long imprisonment: for if at his coming near any church, the bells had not rung; or if he did not find the sacrament exposed, he was apt to break into foul language. He went farther; for being naturally cruel, he used to beat his clergy, when any thing displeased him. He ordered all such passages of scripture, as had been painted on the church walls, to be washed off; upon which it was said, that it was necessary the scriptures should be expunged to make room for images; since they agreed very ill, and therefore could not stand decently together. Many mock poems, and satires, flew up and down; but none was more provoking than one writ upon an accident which happened at *St. Paul's* on *Easter-Day*. It was the custom to lay the Host, at even-song on *Good Friday*, in the sepulchre, and to take it out on *Easter-Morning*; upon which the choir used to sing these words, *He is risen; he is not here*, at its taking out.—But when they looked for it on the present occasion, it really was not there, some person having stole it; however, another wafer was quickly brought. Upon this a ballad was writ, in which it was said, that their God was lost, but a new one was put in his stead. Great pains were taken to find out the author, but all to no purpose.

Q. When was cardinal *Pole* sent for over?

A. In 1554. On which occasion he entered *London* privately; but was afterwards received as legate; and then he reconciled the nation to the see of *Rome*; for which purpose he

he came to the *Parliament-House*. There he made a long speech; which concluded with giving the whole nation a plenary absolution. The rest of the day past in singing *Te Deum*, and the night shone with bonfires. An act, repealing all laws made against the pope's authority, was quickly past: and all things were brought back to the state in which they stood, in the twentieth year of *Henry VIII*. On this occasion *Gardiner* rose much in reputation, with the favourers of the papal cause; for his having wrought so great a change, in so short a time, with little or no opposition. The first thing now taken into consideration, was, in what way the government ought to proceed against hereticks. *Pole* was suspected to have been their friend formerly, he being an enemy to all severe proceedings. He was of opinion, that the first step proper to be taken would be, to reform the manners of the clergy; but *Gardiner*, being low and bloody-minded, thought that it would be most for the interest of the government, to put the laws against the *Lollards* in execution; upon which a persecution was resolved. After the parliament was up, there was a solemn procession of many bishops and priests, *Bonner* carrying the Host; to thank God for having reconciled the nation to St. *Peter's* chair: and as this happened on St. *Andrew's-Day*, it was appointed as an anniversary, and called *The Feast of the Reconciliation*. — What strange infatuation was all this!

Q. When was the persecution set on foot?

A. In 1555. *Rogers*, *Hooper*, *Taylor*, *Bradford*, and seven more, were brought before the council; and being asked, severally, if they would return to the union of the catholic church, and acknowledge the pope, they all refused. *Rogers* and *Hooper* being brought before *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Tonstall*, and three other bishops, and continuing firm, were declared obstinate hereticks; and, after being degraded, were sentenced to be burnt. *Rogers* was not permitted to see his wife and ten children: yet so little was he terrified by this terrible sentence, that on the very morning of his execution, he slept so soundly, that he was not easily waked. February 4, he was carried from *Newgate* to *Smithfield*. A pardon being offered him at the stake, provided he would recant, he refused it, saying, that he would not exchange a present fire for everlasting burnings: adding,

adding, that it was with joy he resigned his life, in testimony of the doctrine he had preached. *Hooper* suffered at *Gloucester*, *February* the 9th. At the stake he spoke to many whom he had formerly known. Some of them, weeping out of compassion, he wept also : declaring, at the same time, that all his sufferings, during his imprisonment, had not drawn a single tear from him. Whilst he was burning, the wind blew very strong ; which prevented the flames from rising up, to choak him or destroy his vitals ; by which means he was near three quarters of an hour in the greatest torments ; but he still continued to call on God ; and his last words were, *Lord Jesus receive my spirit !*—At the same time, *Sanders* was burnt at *Coventry*, and *Taylor* at *Hadley* ; the places where they had severally been ministers. *Gardiner* imagined, that these four executions, in different parts of *England*, would check the reformers ; but finding that six more were apprehended, he resolved to meddle no farther in these persecutions, but to leave them entirely to *Bonner*, whose disposition was so cruel, that he undertook them with chearfulness. However, the nation was greatly offended at these barbarities ; and they brought an odium on king *Philip*, from which he afterwards endeavoured to clear himself.

Q. Who were the next victims to this cruel spirit of persecution ?

A. One *Tomkins*, a weaver, whom *Bonner* kept in his house, being found to doubt of the presence in the sacrament, he practised several barbarities on *Tomkins*, such as the tearing out the hair of his beard ; and holding a candle to his hand, till the sinews burst : which not prevailing to make him change, *Tomkins* at last was burnt in *Smithfield*. One *Hunter*, an apprentice, but nineteen years of age, was burnt on the same account. Two gentlemen, (*Causton* and *Higbed*,) *Lawrence*, a priest, and two persons more, were burnt near their own houses in *Essex*. *Ferrar*, who had been bishop of *St. David's*, was proceeded against summarily by *Morgan* his successor, (the method used in all the other prosecutions :) and he appealing to cardinal *Pole*, the only effect it produced was, to respite his execution during three weeks. *Rawlins White*, a poor fisherman, was condemned by the bishop of *Landaff*, and afterwards burnt ;

burnt ; as also was *Marsh*, a priest, in *Chester* ; on which occasion a new barbarity was practised, viz. the pouring melted pitch on his head. One *Flower*, a rash, furious man, having wounded a priest in *St. Margaret's, Westminster*, whilst officiating, was seized ; and being found to be an heretick, he also was burnt. All the reformed disapproved of *Flower's* attempt on the priest ; and he himself repented sincerely of it, before he suffered.—A stop was now put, during some weeks, to the persecution, at which time the queen restored the church lands.

Q. Did not the persecution soon break out again ?

A. With redoubled fury. *Cardmaker*, late a prebendary at *Bath*, and *Warne*, a tradesman, were burnt in *Smithfield*. The body of one who had been condemned for robbery, but, at his execution, said some things which tended to heresy, was burnt on that account. Seven were burnt in various parts of *Essex*, all of them having been condemned by *Bonner*, and sent down to be executed near the place of their respective abodes. Such an infernal spirit reigned in the council, that they used to write to all the persons of rank in the several counties, exhorting them to assemble, on these bloody occasions, as many people as they could possibly collect together. *Bradford*, who had been imprisoned, soon after he had saved *Bourn*, in the tumult at *St. Paul's*, was also burnt. Several dignitaries of the church endeavoured to prevail with him to recant, but all to no purpose. *Bradford* appealing to *Bourn*, (now raised to the see of *Bath and Wells*), who was then sitting among the bishops that judged him ; and asking whether he (*Bourn*) had not besought him, for Christ's sake, to endeavour at his preservation, and if he had not done all this, at the hazard of his own life ?—*Bourn*, though ashamed to accuse, had not the honesty, nor the courage, to stand up in *Bradford's* defence. With him was burnt a young apprentice, whom he encouraged greatly in his sufferings ; and, in a transport of joy, hugged the faggots which surrounded him. *Thornton*, *Harpsfield*, and others, set on a persecution in *Canterbury*, (contrary to cardinal *Pole's* inclination,) where two priests, and two laymen fell a sacrifice ; as also a man and a woman, in other parts of *Kent* ; and two more, belonging to
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the dioceses of *Winchester* and *Chichester*. The two last fell by *Bonner's* cruelty. This year the queen began to rebuild the religious houses.

Q. When did the bishops *Latimer* and *Ridley* fall?

A. In 1555, at *Oxford*. Thirty-one persons more were burnt, in different parts of *England*, before those two prelates fell a sacrifice. The bishops of *Lincoln*, *Gloucester*, and *Bristol*, were commissioned, by cardinal *Pole*, to prosecute them. *Ridley* said, among other things, that he once had been involved in the Romish superstition; but *St. Paul* had been a blasphemer: and he (*Ridley*) had discovered such errors in the see of *Rome*, that he would never acknowledge it again.—*Latimer* adhered to what he said. A night's respite was allowed them; but they continuing stedfast next day, were condemned as obstinate hereticks; and being delivered over to the secular arm, writs were sent down for their being burnt. They prepared for this sacrifice with so much patience and chearfulness, as quite astonished their keepers. When leading out to execution, they looked up to *Cranmer's* window, but could not see him; he being then engaged in a dispute with some friars. But he saw them; and looking after them with a most tender sense of their condition; earnestly prayed God to assist them in their sufferings. Being come to the stake, they embraced and animated one another.—*Smith* preached on the following text, *If I give my body to be burnt, and have not charity, it profiteth nothing*; and he inhumanely compared their dying for heresy, to *Judas's* hanging himself. *Ridley* desired leave to answer some points in *Smith's* sermon; but being told that he would not be permitted to speak, except he recanted; he, finding men determined to be so unreasonable, turned himself to God. After both had prayed, and undressed themselves, the fire was kindled. Some gunpowder was hung about their necks, to which fire being put, *Latimer* was soon out of his pain: but *Ridley* endured more lingering tortures; so much wood being thrown on, that it was long before the fire could break through it; and his legs were almost entirely consumed, before he was suffocated by the flame. Such was the end of these two excellent bishops.

Q. Proceed farther in their character.

A. Ridley had been chaplain to *Henry VIII*, who promoted him to the see of *Rochester*, as *Edward VI.* did afterwards to the see of *London*. He was one of the ablest champions of the reformation. His piety, learning, and the solidity of his judgment, were admired by his friends, and dreaded by his enemies. The night before his execution, he invited the mayor of *Oxford*, and his wife, to see him die: when the good woman melting into tears, he spoke to her with an assurance, which was capable of banishing her sorrow; as she might naturally suppose, that such great resolution, on so melancholy an occasion, must certainly be the gift of heaven, to inspire and animate him against his approaching agony. He comforted bishop *Latimer* at the stake, who was ready to return him the kind office. So little was he disturbed by the terrors before him, that he even attended seriously to the sermon then preached by a furious bishop; and was calm enough to have answered the exceptionable parts of it, (which, as was observed, he offered to do;) but was not allowed to display his eloquence and reason, as these might have shaken his auditors, and made more work for his persecutors.—*Latimer* was born at *Thurcaston*, in *Leicestershire*, and brought up in *Cambridge*. *Henry VIII.* appointed him bishop of *Worcester*, which see he resigned. He was endowed with a noble simplicity of mind; and arraigned, in his sermons, the vices of great sinners with such natural eloquence, as found a way to the hearts of his hearers, and made the *Felices* of the age tremble. A certain illustrious robber made restitution, into *Latimer's* hands, of monies stole from the publick; moved thereto by one of his sermons on restitution. He comforted *Ridley* at the stake; and continuing unshaken amid all the triumphs of reigning popery, prophesied, that they two should light up such a candle in *England*, as, by God's grace, would never be extinguished. *Latimer* finished a life which, during fourscore years, and in the corruption of the last ages, had preserved the piety, simplicity, and integrity of the first. In *November*, this year, *Gardiner* died. In his expiring moments, he expressed great sorrow for his former sins; and often said, that *He had erred with St. Peter, but had not repented with him*. He was skilled in the civil and canon

canon law, but was a very indifferent divine. He wrote well in *Latin*, and had some knowledge of the *Greek*. He had a quick apprehension; knew well the intrigues of courts, and understood mankind; was master of the arts of flattery, and yielded to none in profound dissimulation. He died at a time that he had the prospect of being raised to the purple. The nation was displeased with the queen's conduct.

Q. How did cardinal *Pole* act when archbishop of *Canterbury*?

A. Very well in most things; he having proposed, in a convocation, many canons for the reformation of the clergy; which shewed his wisdom, and the sweetness of his disposition. His opinion was, that the people were more strongly influenced by the scandals they saw in the clergy, than by the arguments they heard from the reformers: for which reason, he would have had heresy, (as it was falsely termed,) driven out of the land, not by tortures and fires, but by gentle methods. One illaudable circumstance, indeed, was, that though he himself condemned cruel proceedings against hereticks, he yet both gave commissions to other bishops, and arch-deacons, to try them; and permitted many cruelties to be exercised in his own diocese.

Q. Did cardinal *Pole* shew any friendship for the Jesuits?

A. Not the least. This order was now beginning to grow considerable. It had been founded by *Paul IV.* of the house of *Caraffa* *. The Jesuits were bound, besides their other vows, to an absolute obedience to the see of *Rome*. They set up free-schools, wherever they came, for the education of youth; and strongly opposed the reformers. They were excused from the hours of the choir; and thus were considered as a mungrel order, between the regulars and seculars. They observed to cardinal *Pole*, that since the queen intended to restore the abbey-lands; it would be to no purpose to give them again to the Benedictines, as their order was a clog, rather than a help to the church. For this reason they desired, that houses might be assigned them, for maintaining schools and seminaries; after which they did not doubt (as

* *Steidan's* Comment, p. 776.

they declared) but that they should quickly drive out heresy, and recover the church-lands.—*Pole* would not listen to these arguments. It is not certain whether he, at that time, had the sagacity, to foresee the disorder which those fathers were likely to bring into the government of the church; and the great corruption of manners that has since flowed from their schools; and been generally infused, by them in confessions; so that their whole church is now overrun with it. Thrice happy for this kingdom, that cardinal *Pole* prevented their establishment in it! This was in 1555.

Q. Who was the founder of this order, which has made, and still makes, so much noise in *Europe*?

A. *Ignatius Loyola*, of *Guipuscoa*, in *Spain*. He was born in 1492, the same year that the *Indies* were discovered, and *Grenada* taken by king *Ferdinand*. He lived obscurely till his twenty-ninth year; and then, in 1521, entered into the army, in the wars of *Navarre*. Being wounded in the knee, he resolved to embrace a religious life, (as it is called.) Immediately upon his recovery, he went to our lady of *Montserrat*, and offered to her his sword and dagger. Then giving his cloaths to a poor man, he put on a miserable shirt and coat, which he girt about him with a rope of rushes. He thereupon watched a whole night before our lady above mentioned; then went to an hospital, three leagues off, where he attended on the sick. He afterwards travelled to the *Holy Land*; and returning from thence, being in his thirty-third year, he began to learn *Grammar* in *Barcelona*, and attained it in two years. He went next to the university of *Alcala*, and afterwards to *Salamanca*, where, being opposed and persecuted, he abandoned his all, and travelled to *Paris*, when studying in that city, he, with many others, agreed to return in pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*. In 1536, going to *Venice*, he staid there till his companions overtook him; when travelling to *Rome*, he there obtained of pope *Paul III*, in 1540, the foundation of his order, the workings of which, (like the opening of *Pandora's box*,) have brought numberless calamities upon the world.

Q. When did archbishop *Cranmer* suffer?

A. The

PERSECUTIONS in ENGLAND, &c. 51

A. The 21st of *March* 1556. The year before sixty-even had been burnt, among whom were four bishops, and thirteen priests. Of these, three were burnt at one stake in *Canterbury*, and *Philpot* in *Smithfield*. The *March* before, *Brooks*, bishop of *Gloucester*, came to *Oxford*, with authority, from cardinal *Pole*, to judge *Cranmer*. With *Brooks* came two delegates, (*Martin* and *Scory*,) in the king and queen's name, to assist him. Being brought before them, *Cranmer* paid the respect due to those who sat in the name of their majesties; but would shew none to *Brooks*, as he sat there by an authority derived from the pope, which, he said, he could never acknowledge. He added, that he could not serve two masters; and having sworn allegiance to the crown, he could not submit to the pope's authority. He likewise shewed, that the papal power had been as unjustly exercised, as it was ill grounded. That they had changed the laws settled by Christ, in denying the cup to the people; in having the worship in an unknown tongue; and in pretending to have power to depose kings. He put *Brooks* in mind, that he had sworn to maintain the king's supremacy. And when *Brooks* endeavoured to retort this upon *Cranmer* as falsehood; he told him, that this supremacy had been acknowledged in his predecessor, archbishop *Warham's* time; and that *Brooks* had set his hand to it.—*Brooks* and the two delegates, objected many things to *Cranmer*: as that he had flattered king *Henry*, in order to be preferred by him; had condemned *Lambert*, for denying the presence in the sacrament; and had afterwards been guilty of the same heresy himself. But *Cranmer* declared, that he had never aspired to the see of *Canterbury*, as was evident, from the slow progress he made in his return from *Germany*, in which he employed seven weeks, upon his being promoted to that see. He owned that he, indeed, had changed his opinion, with regard to the sacrament; and acknowledged that he had been twice married, he thinking wedlock free to all men: and that it was far better to do this than to defile the wives of other men.—In *February* 1556, *Bonner* and *Thirleby* were sent to degrade him, for his contumacy in not going to *Rome*; though this was impossible, as he was a prisoner. He then was

cloathed in all the pontifical vestments, made of canvas ; after which, he was stript of them, pursuant to the ceremony of degradation ; on which occasion *Bonner* behaved with his usual insolence. *Thirleby* being a good-natured man, and *Cranmer's* friend, performed his part of the ceremony with tears. But *Cranmer* seemed little concerned ; and appealed from the sentence of the pope, to a free general council. His behaviour, during the shocking ceremony just mentioned, was decent and uniform. He was not sorry, he said, to be thus cut off, with all this pageantry, from every relation to the church of *Rome*. This spectacle might not only have extorted compassion from his enemies, but even have melted, as it were, inanimate things into tears. The primate of *England*, who lately flourished in honour, and had great authority with princes ; most venerable for the sanctity of his life ; for his age, his person, his learning, his gravity, and his numberless excellencies of mind, now, by the malice of the Romanists, drest in a ridiculous habit ; baited with scurrility and contemptuous revilings ; and dragged to a most tormenting death.

Q. What endeavours were used in order to make him recant ?

A. Many engines were set at work for this purpose. Some *English* and *Spanish* divines held many conferences with *Cranmer* ; and great hopes were given him, that in case he would recant, he might not only save his life, but even meet with preferment. These treacherous offers, at last, had too fatal an effect upon him, he signing a recantation of all his former opinions ; and concluding with a protestation, that he had done all this freely, and merely for the discharge of his conscience. But now the queen resolved he should fall a sacrifice to her resentment ; she saying, it was good, for his soul, that he had repented ; but that it would be necessary to make him a public example, as he had been the chief spreader of heresy throughout the nation. Immediately a writ was sent down to burn him ; and, after some stop had been made in the execution of it, fresh orders came for doing it suddenly. But *Cranmer* was not informed of this, as his enemies intended to have him carried to the stake, without

out his having the least notice of it before hand ; they thereby hoping to make him die in despair. But he, having some suspicion of this, wrote a long paper, containing a confession of his faith ; the whole dictated by conscience, and not by fear.

Q. What followed after this ?

A. He was carried to *St. Mary's in Oxford*, the twenty-first of *March*. Here *Dr. Cole* preached a sermon, wherein he vindicated the queen's justice, in condemning him ; greatly magnifying, at the same time, his conversion, and ascribing it wholly to the workings of God's spirit. He gave *Cranmer* great hopes of heaven ; and promised him all the relief that masses and dirges could procure in another state. During this, *Cranmer* was seen to be in great confusion, and to shed a flood of tears. At last, being called upon to speak, he began by a prayer, in which he expressed strong inward remorse, and horror. Then, after exhorting the spectators to lead good lives, and to be obedient and charitable ; he, in the most pathetic words, made a confession of his sin ; declaring, that the hopes of saving his life had prompted him to sign a paper, contrary to the truth, and to the dictates of his conscience : and he therefore had resolved, that the hand which signed it should be burnt first. To this he added, that he held the same belief, concerning the sacrament, which he had published in the book, writ by him on that subject.—Immediately the whole assembly were in a great consternation ; but his enemies were resolved to make an end of him suddenly ; upon which they hurried him away to the stake, without permitting him to say a word more. During this they, by their reproaches and clamours, gave him all the disturbance possible : to all which he made no answer, having turned his thoughts entirely to heaven. The fire being kindled, he held his right-hand towards the flame, till it was consumed ; he often crying out, *This unworthy hand !* Soon after this he was wholly consumed ; except that his heart was found entire among the ashes ; which made his friends observe, that though his hand had erred, his heart had continued true. *Cranmer* was then in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

Q. Describe his character.

D 3.

A. He

A. He was a man of great candour, and a firm friend; as he clearly proved himself to be, in the misfortunes of *Anna Boleyn*, and in those of *Cromwell*, and the duke of *Somerset*. He excelled in great industry, and in good judgment, rather than in quickness of apprehension. He employed his revenues in pious and charitable uses; and his table was truly hospitable; he constantly entertaining at it a great number of his poor neighbours. The gentleness and humility of his deportment were very singular. His last fall was the greatest blemish of his life; but this he expiated by a sincere repentance, and a patient martyrdom; so that many compared him to those fathers, who had been the chief glory of the church: and it seemed necessary, that as the reformation, of the church, was the restoring of the primitive and apostolical doctrine; so it should be carried on by a man, thus eminent for primitive and apostolical virtues.

2. How many persons were sacrificed in 1556?

A. Eighty-five, in different parts of the kingdom; no regard being had to age or sex; the young and old, the lame and the blind, being all indiscriminately executed. This raised (very justly) so violent an aversion, to the popish religion, in this nation, that it is no wonder it should have been infinitely alarmed, whenever endeavours were used to restore it. Among those above mentioned that suffered, were eleven men and two women, who were all burnt in one fire at *Stratford*. This was the work of bloody *Bonner*, bishop of *London*. Let me observe, by the way, that some declare him to have been a bastard; though others say he was son to one *Bonner*, an honest, poor man of *Hanley* in *Warcestershire*, where, in a poor cottage, our *Bonner* was born. He lived till the year 1569, and was buried in *St. George's-church-yard, Southwark*.—But to return, these barbarities extended to *Guernsey*, where a mother, and her two daughters, were burnt at the same stake; one of them being a married woman, and big with child. The violence of the heat bursting a boy from her, it fell into the flames. One of the persons present being more merciful than the rest, snatched it out of the fire; but the other barbarous spectators, after a little consultation, threw it back again. This was certainly murder;

murder ; for no sentence, passed on the mother, could excuse this inhuman butchery ; which was the more odious, as the dean of *Guernsey* was an accomplice in it. But these executions, so far from extinguishing the reformation, spread it still more and more ; and increased the zeal of its professors. These held frequent meetings, in which pastors used to instruct them. And their *German* friends took care to send them many books, for their improvement and consolation. Cardinal *Pole* was not consecrated archbishop of *Canterbury*, till the day after *Cranmer* was burnt ; upon which occasion, some applied to him the following words of *Elijah*, *Thou hast killed, and taken possession.*

Q. What other matters of consequence happened about this time ?

A. The queen founded other religious houses ; and commanded that all reports, tending to the dishonour of such foundations, should be destroyed. This expurgation was compared to the rage of the heathens, in the last persecution, who destroyed all the books and registers which they could find among the Christians. The establishing of houses, in this manner, greatly alarmed the nobility and gentry ; insomuch that many members of the *House of Commons*, laying their hands on their swords, declared that they would defend their estates, and not part with them. About this time was a visitation of the universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*. In *Cambridge*, the bodies of *Bucer* and *Fagius*, who had been hereticks, were taken up and burnt with great solemnity. At *Oxford*, as *Peter Martyr's* wife had been a nun, and broke her vow of *Chastity*, her body was dug up, and buried in a dunghill. In 1557, a severe inquisition of hereticks was set up, in imitation of that of *Spain*, *Portugal*, &c. when *Bonner*, and twenty more, were commissioned to search all over *England*, for persons suspected of heresy. This year seventy-nine were burnt in different parts of the kingdom. Cardinal *Pole* did all he could to stop this butchery. During the course of these executions, the popish clergy were not satisfied ; they complaining that the magistrates performed their duty very negligently ; upon which severe letters were writ, from the council-board, to several towns ; recommending

chosen men to be appointed mayors. The pope, being displeased at cardinal *Pole's* moderation, with regard to hereticks, recalled his powers, and required him to appear in *Rome*. In 1558, *Calais* and other towns were lost. The lady *Elizabeth*, sister to the queen, met with great severity in this reign; she having been committed to the *Tower*, and carried to it through the traitor's gate, and afterwards strictly guarded. Many other severities were afterwards practised upon her.

Q. How many persons were burnt in 1558?

A. Thirty-nine: and the whole number burnt, during this reign, amounted to two hundred and eighty-four. Others say, that near four hundred fell a sacrifice, on these sad occasions, including those who died by imprisonment and famine. However this be, it is acknowledged that there were burnt five bishops, twenty one divines, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, one hundred husbandmen, servants and labourers; twenty-six wives, twenty widows, nine virgins, two boys, and two infants. Sixty-four more were persecuted for their religion, whereof seven were whipt, sixteen perished in prison, and twelve were buried in dunghills. It is to be observed, that the persecution raged most in *Bonner's* diocese (*London*) and in *Kent*. Hence very just are the following reflexions made by Mr. *Collier*. To destroy people for points of mere speculation, and which have no ill effect on practice and civil government, seems very remote from the spirit of Christianity. Supposing truth to be on the side of the persecutors, yet to burn a man because he will not belye his conscience, and turn hypocrite, is unaccountable. Men cannot believe what they please: their understandings are not all of a size. Things do not stand in the same light, and strike with the same force on every body. Besides, if the roman catholicks believed the reformed to be such notorious hereticks; if they thought they would be so ill received in the other world, why did they not use them gentler in this? Why did they hurry them to eternal destruction before their time? We may justly affirm, that such wisdom as this did not proceed from above; but was earthly, sensual, and devilish.—Several protestant books were printed beyond sea, and secretly conveyed into *England*, as was observed,

observed, upon which a proclamation of a very odd kind, was issued; enacting, that any person who might receive such books, and did not immediately throw them into the fire, without either reading or shewing them to any person, should be executed forthwith by martial law. Pardons were, at first, offered at the stake, in order to tempt the martyrs to the last moment of their lives; but afterwards the papal cruelty, as it continued to the last week of the queen's reign, so it increased to such a degree, that *Bembridge*, who was burnt near *Winchester*, crying out, when he felt the violence of the flames, that he would recant; the sheriff made his people extinguish the fire, in hopes, that, as the clergy pretended, they desired the conversion, and not the destruction of hereticks, this act of mercy would not displease them; nevertheless the council ordered the sheriff to go on and execute the sentence, and to take care that *Bembridge* died a good catholick: it being said (most inhumanly) that if he recanted sincerely, he was fit to die: and, if otherwise, he was not fit to live.

Q. When did queen *Mary* die?

A. *November 17, 1558*, in the forty-third year of her age; after having reigned five years, four months, and eleven days. The history of her reign proves her excessive bigotry. To this she joined a cruel and vindictive temper, which she endeavoured to confound with a zeal for religion. But when it was not possible to unite them, she plainly shewed that she was inclined to cruelty, no less by nature than by zeal. It was her misfortune to be encouraged, in this horrid disposition, by all persons who approached her. King *Philip* was naturally morose: *Gardiner* was one of the most revengeful men living: *Bonner* was a fury; and the other bishops were chosen from among the most cruel and most barbarous of the clergy. By this quality only a man was thought worthy of the episcopal function. All these things considered, it is no wonder that the protestants should suffer so dreadful a persecution in her reign. She left to her council (unfortunately for her) the whole conduct of affairs; and gave herself up entirely to the dictates and humours of her clergy. The loss of *Calais* had so affected her, that she abandoned herself to despair;

and told the people about her, that she should die: and that if they were desirous of knowing the cause of it, they must dissect her, when they would find *Calais* at her heart. She was perfectly sensible of the value of that town; this rendering *England* always formidable to *France*; as the *English* might, in twenty-four hours, land considerable armies in *France*. The greatness of this loss has been felt more sensibly since. From this period *France*, when torn with intestine wars, no longer shewed the regard she before used to pay to *England*. King *Philip* would fain have had the *English* make an effort to recover *Calais*: but the queen, the ministry, and the council, were afraid, that an attempt to besiege that town, would oblige them to interrupt their darling persecution: imagining, therefore, that one year more would suffice to utterly destroy the reformation, and the reformed; it was thought proper to defer the siege of *Calais*, to a more convenient season. Thus were the most essential interests of the kingdom neglected, for the sake of a dreadful persecution. What then must be the spirit of that religion, which can inspire such destructive resolutions! Cardinal *Pole* died not many hours after the queen. He was a learned man; and, in general, humble, prudent, and moderate; so that, in the several fierce contests, in religious matters, he was always for employing lenitives; but the temper and principles of the queen, being fierce and severe, she preferred the bloody counsels of *Bonner* and *Gardiner*, to the sagacious, and more gentle methods proposed by *Pole*. This prelate is the more deserving of praise, as very few of the clergy, at that time, merited any; they being remarkable only for temporising and dissembling, in the several changes which happened; besides their being infamously cruel.

2. Who succeeded queen *Mary*?

A. Her half-sister *Elizabeth*, whose accession gave infinite joy to the nation, in general; but great mortification to the priests, and those of the Romish party; these justly apprehending a new revolution in matters of religion. She passed through *London*, amid all the joys that a people, delivered from the terrors of fire, and slavery, could express. King *Philip* proposed marriage to her, but all in vain; she saying,

saying, that she had espoused her kingdom. She gave orders that all, who were imprisoned on a religious account, should be set at liberty: upon which, a person observing, that the four evangelists were still captives; and that the people longed to see them restored to their liberty: she replied, that she herself would speak to them, in order to know their own minds. A reformation being soon resolved upon, the queen desired, that the changes might be so managed, as to occasion as little division as possible among her subjects. She did not like the title of *Supreme Head*, as thinking it implied too great an authority; but, in the mean time, resolved not to do any thing till a parliament should be assembled. The first thing now done was, to order the liturgy, and the rest of the service, to be said in *English*. The next consideration was, the filling the vacant sees. Dr. Parker was, some time after, consecrated archbishop of *Canterbury*; he having first refused that dignity, in the strongest manner possible. He had been chaplain to *Ann Boleyn*: and instructed queen *Elizabeth*, when young, in the Christian religion. As she passed through *London* in great pomp, under one of the triumphal arches, a boy, representing *Truth*, came down, as from heaven, with a *Bible* in his hand. This she received on her knees; and kissing it, declared it to be the most grateful present offered her that day.

Q. When was a parliament called?

A. On the twenty-fifth of *January*, 1559; when Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, father of the famous lord *Bacon*, was made lord-keeper. He then made a long speech, concerning matters of religion, and the state of the nation. Soon after this the queen, in order that she might settle matters at home, concluded a peace with *France* and *Spain*. The first act passed was, for the restitution of the tenths and first-fruits to the crown. The commons addressing the queen, in order for her to marry; she kindly refused to comply with their desires in that respect. Next her title to the crown was acknowledged. Afterwards followed some acts concerning religion. The queen being impowered, to appoint certain persons to reform and direct all ecclesiastical matters, a court, called the *High-commission court*, was established. Many seditious sermons

being preached; orders were published, that no person should preach without a licence under the great seal. A public conference, about religion, was held, and that on the following points; worship in an unknown tongue; the power lodged in every church, with regard to changing rites and ceremonies; and the mass's being a propitiatory sacrifice.

Q. What followed after this?

A. The *Book of Common Prayer* was revised, and set up again; though many of the bishops made long speeches against it. All religious houses, founded by the late queen, were suppressed and united to the crown. After the parliament was dissolved, the oath of supremacy was tendered to the bishops; who all refused it, except *Kitchen*, bishop of *Landaff*. Such of the bishops who had refused that oath, continued still in *England*, except three, who, with a few gentlemen, and all the nuns left the kingdom. Her majesty, loving magnificence in religion, was for keeping images in the churches; but was, at last, persuaded to order them to be removed. A general visitation was appointed over the whole nation, in which a multitude of excellent things were enacted. The queen was of opinion, that if such comprehensive methods could be found out, as would once bring her subjects to an union; although there might, (perhaps,) remain a great diversity of opinions, yet this would wear off with the present age; and that all people would be of one mind in the next. This had the good effect expected from it, till the king of *Spain*, and the pope, began to open seminaries, beyond sea, for a mission to *England*, (of which something more will be said presently,) for to these have been owing almost all the distractions which this nation has laboured under ever since. Her majesty granted commissions for the two provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, who made many regulations. Dr. *Parker* was now raised to the see of *Canterbury*, (as was before hinted,) after which he consecrated several bishops. Almost all the clergy chose to take the oath, rather than give up their preferments: but it was believed most of them complied against their consciences.

Q. What steps did the new bishops take, in order to forward the reformation?

A. They

A. They published the articles of the church, under thirty-nine heads. The next thing undertaken, was a new translation of the *Bible*. Some books thereof were given to different bishops, who were appointed to consult with such divines as they knew to be well skilled in the *Greek* and *Hebrew* tongues; and, with their assistance, each was to translate the portion of scripture put into his hands. The whole version was finished in two or three years. One thing then projected, and which has not yet been compleated, was, a reformation in church discipline, the want whereof is to be greatly lamented. Hence many, at that time, were prompted to devise new platforms, for the administration of ecclesiastical discipline in every parish; all which gave great offence to the government, who opposed these things so strongly, that the whole came to nothing. Other disputes were fomented, concerning the vestments of the clergy; and factions growing up in the court, these proved of great prejudice to the church. After this, queen *Elizabeth*, by her wise conduct, and that of her ministers, became the head of the protestants, both in *France* and in the *Netherlands*. In *France*, her majesty supported the protestants, sometimes with men, but oftener with money; by which means near half that kingdom became dependant on her. She had the like advantages in the *Netherlands*, owing to the civil wars carried on in that country; where, an attempt to settle the inquisition, induced part of those provinces to throw off the *Spanish* yoke.

Q. To whom were the chief troubles, which this queen met with during her reign, owing?

A. To the Roman catholicks; these having made several attempts to dethrone and take away her life. Her enemies founded many seminaries in different countries, as at *Rome*, *Doway*, *Rheims*, *Valladolid*, &c. where the *English* youth of the Romish religion are taught the following detestable principles, *viz.* that the pope has an absolute power over kings; and that, whenever a prince is declared unworthy of his crown, for being a heretick, his subjects are then absolved from all allegiance to him; and that the killing such a one is a meritorious action. It is from these seminaries that priests are sent into *England*, there to propagate.

propagate the Romish doctrine, and to inculcate the principles above mentioned. Many abandoned wretches joined the Roman catholicks, to stir up seditions, and assassinate her; particularly after pope *Pius V.* had fulminated his excommunication against her. However, the only effect of their conspiracies was, they made more work for the executioners, and occasioned the Roman catholicks to be treated with still greater rigour.

Q. Was not *England* very happy under this queen?

A. Greatly so. Abroad, she was the arbiter of Christendom; and, at home, affairs were so wisely conducted, commerce flourished so much, and justice was so equally distributed, that she became the wonder of the world. She was victorious in all her wars with *Spain*. She reigned more absolutely over the hearts, than over the persons of her subjects. *Rome* and *Spain* employed a multitude of engines, both against her person and government, but she triumphed over them all. The unfortunate *Mary*, queen of *Scots*, was forced to take sanctuary in *England*; where the many plots which were laid, to take away queen *Elizabeth's* life, brought on queen *Mary* the calamities of a long imprisonment, which ended in a tragical death. This was the greatest blemish of queen *Elizabeth's* reign; though some have thought this sacrifice justifiable, in some measure, if not necessary. Queen *Mary* is said to have possessed great accomplishments of mind; and as there is no room to doubt, but that her portrait in *Drapers-Hall, London*, resembled her, she must have been a beauty. Possessed of so many perfections, it is pity she should have been so ill fated. Certain historians say, that this queen, giving ear to pernicious counsels, engaged in the conspiracy formed against queen *Elizabeth*; by the pope, the king of *Spain*, and the dukes of *Guise*. Writers differ widely in their opinion of the conduct and character of this queen *Mary*. However this be, it is assured that she left the world with resolution: for the sheriff acquainting her that she must come forth to execution, she appeared dressed as on festival days; with a composed air, and a chearful look. Her head was covered with a veil which reached to the ground; her beads hanging at her girdle, with a crucifix in her hand. At the place of execution,

cution, the warrant being read to her, she listened to it with a careless, or rather merry countenance; which done, the dean of *Peterborough* began a speech to her, concerning her life past, present, and to come. She interrupted him, praying him not to trouble himself, she being resolved to die in the catholic religion; after which her head was severed, from her body, at two strokes. Several princes had employed very earnest solicitations, with queen *Elizabeth*, in order to procure her liberty; but all in vain. An author has observed, that the most which can be said for queen *Elizabeth* is, that the queen of *Scots*, and her friends, had brought things to such a crisis, that one of the two queens must perish; and it was natural that the weakest should fall.

Q. Did not both the Roman catholicks, and presbyterians, complain of queen *Elizabeth*?

A. She is accused of persecuting the former, and of putting many of them to death. It is certain that some suffered in her reign. But it may be affirmed, that none were punished, except for conspiring against her, or the state; or for attempting to destroy the protestant religion in *England*, and restoring the Romish, by violent methods. Such papists as lived peaceably were tolerated, though with some restraint as to the exercise of their religion, but with none as to their consciences. If this be called persecution, what name should we give to the sufferings of the protestants under queen *Mary*? The presbyterians also think that they have reason to complain; a statute enacted, under queen *Elizabeth*, having deprived them of liberty of conscience, though they were protestants.—On this occasion we may say, that the presbyterians shewed too much obstinacy, and their adversaries too little charity.

Q. Why did she treat the Romanists so severely?

A. The machinations employed by them, against her, induced her to exercise greater severities towards them, about the latter end of her life; and obliged her to restrain the puritans. To two maxims of state she adhered tenaciously; one was, not to force consciences; the other, not to permit factious practices to pass unpunished, because they were covered with the pretence of conscience. To conclude, so auspicious was her government, that she became

became the darling of the age in which she lived, and the wonder of all posterity. It was indeed surprizing that a maiden queen should be able to govern this kingdom, during above forty years, with such uninterrupted success: should enjoy so much tranquillity at home, and acquire such glory abroad. But all this may justly be considered as a reward, from heaven, upon a reign, the beginning of which had been devoted to reformation in matters of religion: and her memory must be ever dear to the *English*, as they enjoyed, beneath her sway, a felicity unknown to their ancestors, under most of her predecessors; the great test by which we are to form a judgment of monarchs*.

Q. Were not the Roman catholicks too severely treated, on some occasions, during the course of the reformation?

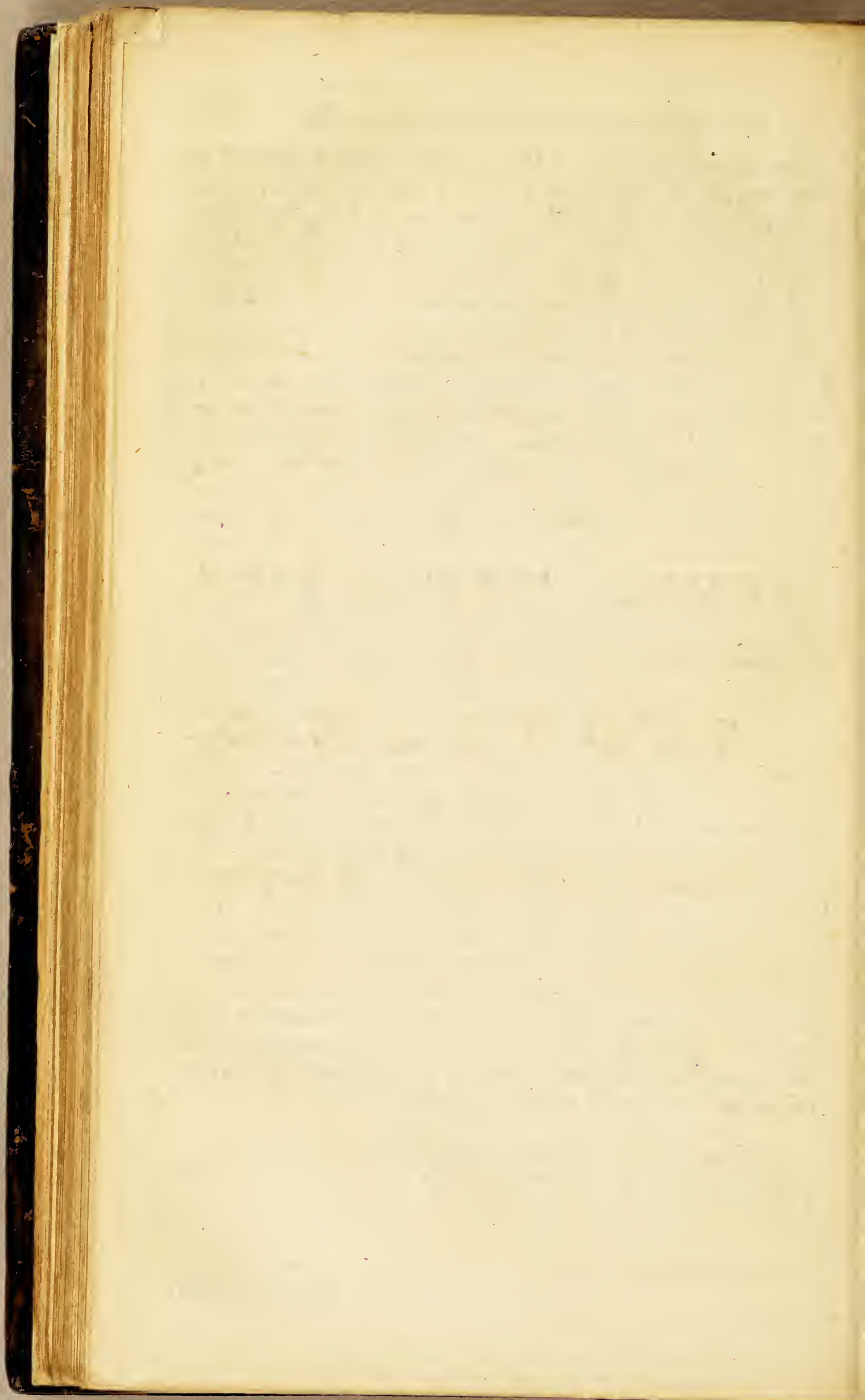
A. This has been shewn before; and particularly in the reformers burning the anabaptists under king *Edward VI.* No virtuous protestant could justify such cruelties; but would exclaim against them as strongly as the Romanists themselves†. It was believed that too much severity was exercised, at times, in pulling down the monasteries; which made the monks to be as much pitied, as they before had been hated. The nobility and gentry, who used to provide for their younger children, or friends, by putting them into the monasteries, were sensible of their loss. The people, who had been fed at the abbots tables; and as they travelled about the country, found the abbies to be places of reception to strangers, were grieved at what they were to lose. But the more superstitious, who thought their friends must still continue in purgatory, for want of the relief which the masses obtained them, were offended, out of measure, at these proceedings. The books which were published of the disorders in these houses, had little effect on the people; for it was said, that there was no reason to destroy

* All the above account of the persecutions of the protestants, by the Roman catholicks, is extracted chiefly from bishop *Burnet's* History of the Reformation; likewise from lord *Herbert*, *Fox*, *Hollingshead*, *Godwin*, *Strype*, *Collier's* Ecclesiastical History, *Puffendorf* and *Rapin*.

† Bishop *Burnet's* Abridgment of the History of the Reformation, book i. p. 183. London 1682, 8vo.


whole houses, for the sake of some vicious persons ; who ought to have been driven out of them, and punished *. Impartiality obliges us to say, that this should have been done : but there is no perfection in this world ; and it is certain, that bad men too often thrust themselves into the best-intended works, merely to serve their own private views.—However, the lord *Cromwell*, in order to remove this general discontent, had advised the king to sell these lands, at very easy rates, to the nobility and gentry ; and oblige them to keep up the wonted hospitality. This, he observed, would both be grateful to them ; and engage them to assist the crown, in supporting the changes which had been made ; since their own interest would be interwoven with that of the crown : and the common sort of people, whose chief objects were the good dinners they used to meet with, would be easily pacified if these were kept up †. *Cromwell's* observations were very just. Nothing prevails so much, with mankind in general, as interest ; and it is probable, that some of the nobility and gentry, in that age, were more swayed by venality, than by religion ; and that the complaints made against some of the visitors, for their bribery and extortion ‡, might be just. Bishop *Burnet* observes, that it was both against *Magna Charta*, and all natural equity, to take away so many ecclesiastical dignities, out of the hands of churchmen, and bestow them on the laity. But it was no wonder (adds he) to see men, still under the influence of the cannon law, commit such errors ||. It is great pity that any irregularities should have been practised during the course of the reformation. However, it is very certain, that the great abuses and cruelties, of the church of *Rome*, called loudly for the reformation that ensued. This has procured numberless advantages to the descendants of those who founded it ; and may the blessed effects of it continue to latest posterity !

* Bishop *Burnet's* Abridgment of the History of the Reformation, book i. p. 182. † *Ibid.* p. 183. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 189.
 § *Ibid.* book ii. p. 8.





HISTORY
OF THE
ROMISH PERSECUTIONS
IN
SCOTLAND,
AND
The REFORMATION there.

Q.  N what state was the church of *Scotland*,
at the time of the reformation?

A. The clergy there were in possession
of a great many lands and revenues,
which had been given to them: and be-
ing almost the only men of letters, in that age, they were
of course advanced to the highest places of honour in the
kingdom. Hence they grew idle and voluptuous; and
became the objects of hatred to the great, and of con-
tempt to the little: so that both the nobility and com-
mons were very desirous of pulling them down. The
clergy had likewise fallen into an error, in omitting to
recom-

recommend, to the people, the weightier duties of religion ; and, instead thereof, in making religion to consist much in the practice of certain human institutions, which had little to do with it's internal nature. Of this sort were pilgrimages, indulgences, donations to the church, invocation of saints, confessions, penances, &c *.

Q. Did not the indulgences above mentioned, granted by pope *Leo X*, give great scandal ?

A. Yes: the farming them out to public officers, who offered them, by public cryers, to the best bidder: the scandalous behaviour of these officers or farmers, who squandered away, in taverns and infamous houses, a great part of the monies they received on these occasions ; the outcries of many poor persons, who justly complained, that the ordinary alms, bestowed by the rich, were greatly diminished by this shameful traffick for indulgences ; and, lastly, the too extensive form of pardon which was granted to the purchasers. This will appear from the following abstract of the form of absolution granted in that age, which must necessarily shock every honest and sensible reader. “ I absolve thee from all ecclesiastical censures, “ and from all thy sins, how enormous soever. And, by “ this plenary indulgence, I remit thee all manner of “ punishment, which thou oughtest to suffer in purgatory. “ And I restore thee to the sacraments of the church, and “ to that innocence and purity which thou hadst at thy “ baptism ; so as, at thy death, the gates of hell shall be “ shut against thee, and the gates of paradise shall be laid “ open, to receive thee. In the name of the Father, and “ of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. *Amen* †.” How blasphemous was such an indulgence with respect to the Almighty ! How injurious with regard to mankind ! This was throwing society into the utmost confusion, and consequently called aloud for a reformation : and therefore latest posterity may justly bless the memory of *Martin Luther*, who so vigorously opposed those destructive indulgences.

* The History of the Affairs of Church and State, in *Scotland*; from the Beginning of the Reformation, &c. By *Robert Keith*. (Introduction, p. 2. & seq.) *Edinburgh*, 1734, folio.

† *Keith's* Introduction to his History, Part i. p. 4, 5.

Q. What other circumstances contributed to make way for a reformation?

A. As the clergy had not hitherto been accustomed to hear of any opposition to the received doctrines of the church, they had not taken care to instruct the people how to maintain or defend their religious principles, if ever they should be attacked on that head. The truth is, the clergy themselves were, in general, extremely ignorant, and unable to give the people much instruction that way; add to this, the too open licentiousness of many of the Romish clergy: besides the want of regular preaching, (since which we, perhaps, may have fallen into an opposite extreme,) and the locking up the scriptures from the people. Hence it must follow, that most of these would quickly go over, to men, who not only put those divine oracles into their hands, but publickly taught and instructed them in the true principles of Christianity; and who, by a greater art of disputation, than they had been accustomed to hear; suggested to them the weakness and insufficiency of such doctrines and practices, as they had formerly been most conversant in. Such were the disadvantages in the government of the church in *Scotland*, at the time preceding the reformation: and though, perhaps, several other circumstances might concur, I yet imagine, that even those above mentioned, will give the reader a tolerable idea of what success an attempt of a change, in religious matters, might probably be attended with*.

Q. Were not the kings of *Scotland*, by the indults or grants of the pope, invested with a privilege of nominating to all the considerable vacant bishopricks, abbies, and priories in the kingdom?

A. Yes: but the consequence was, the *Scottish* monarchs, at the solicitation of their favourites and courtiers, usually nominated to vacant bishopricks, persons unworthy of that sacred character; and, to abbies and priories, persons of no education, nor in any orders of the church; but often children and boys, under the name of abbots and priors commendators; by which fraudulent and sacrilegious kind

* *Keith's* Introduction to his History, Part i. p. 3.

of dealing, the rents and benefices of the church became the patrimony of private families. It is even certain, that persons in no ecclesiastical orders, and meer boys, were, by the presentation of the *Scottish* kings, and the provision of the popes, set over episcopal sees. Such being the bad use made, by the kings in question, of these privileges; the natural consequence was, that, as far too many of these prelates, were neither bred up to letters, nor endued with a virtuous disposition, they themselves did not only live irregularly; but introduced by degrees, through a neglect of their charge, such a deluge of ignorance and vice, among the clergy and all ranks of men; that the state of the church seemed to call loudly for a reformation*.

Q. What kind of reformation might naturally have been expected from the above view of matters?

A. The only circumstances which, at this juncture, could have contributed to a just and moderate change in religion, would have been the discretion of the new preachers, and the disinterestedness of the nobility. But since that also was wanting, alas! what confusion and disorder must necessarily ensue! It is true indeed, the wealth of the church, which, doubtless, was one great bait, to allure the nobility and gentry to favour a change in religion, had formerly served exceedingly well, to provide the younger sons and daughters, of families, with livings suitable to their rank and dignity. Hence it might be expected, that a great part of the church rents would have been left undilapidated for that very purpose; especially considering that these rents were, in some sort, unalienable; and so remained a sure and certain fund for this provision. Whereas, should they once be torn from the church, and engrossed by particular families; they might, sooner or later, follow the common fate of temporal estates; and thus be of no long use to the descendants of those who should obtain them. But the great men of *Scotland* could not endure to look so far forward; and the love of present gain prevailed so forcibly with them, over all prudent considerations; that the mob

* *Keith's History*, p. 593, 594.

themselves, influenced by the preachers, were not more eager to demolish the buildings, than the nobility and gentry were to plunder the revenues of the church*. Thus writes the learned Mr. *Robert Keith*, a Scotch gentleman, and an episcopalian, who, though he, in the course of his elaborate work, shews the necessity of, and applauds the reformation: he yet seems as justly to censure many steps taken by the reformers, in building it up; a circumstance I imagined it incumbent upon me to mention for truth's sake.

Q. Did not preaching, in favour of the reformation, greatly increase about the year 1554?

A. Many protestant preachers, and others, had fled out of *England* during the reign of the bloody queen *Mary*. Among these was *William Harlaw*, a Scotchman, who after having preached some time in *England*; returned at this period to his native country; where he performed the same duty to such as favoured the reformed opinions and principles. Next came into *Scotland*, *John Willocks*, who had formerly been a Franciscan in the town of *Air*. He also had resided in *England*; but upon queen *Mary's* persecution, had fled into *Friesland*, where he professed physick; and was sent, in 1554, by the countess of *Friesland*, with some commission to *Mary* of *Lorrain*, queen regent of *Scotland*. He returned again next year, with another commission from the same lady; after which he lived in *Scotland*, and there preached to as many as would resort to him; who (it is said) were neither few in number, nor of the meaner sort†. Before this, viz. in 1550, was seized one *Adam Wallace*, a simple man, but very zealous for the new doctrines. His wife used to be much in company with the lady *Ormiston*, to instruct that lady's children during the absence of her husband. In all probability, the catechising these, and perhaps other children, in the new forms, had made this man be more taken notice of, than he otherwise would have been; so he was seized at *Winton*, in *East-Lothian*, by the lord-primate's direction, and brought to his trial, in the church of the

* *Keith's* Introduction to his History, p. 3.
History, Part i, p. 64.

† *Keith's*

Black-friars, in *Edinburgh*, in presence of the governor, divers of the nobility and prelates, &c. when being accused of many articles, and pronounced guilty, he was burnt, next day, on the *Castle-hill*, at *Edinburgh*. It is related that he was ordered not to speak to the people at his execution: but that he nevertheless entreated them not to be offended at the truth, because of his sufferings; saying, the disciple is not above his master; after which, recommending his soul to God, he died with the greatest patience and resignation*. How bloody-minded must the judges of this unhappy man be, especially such of them as were ecclesiasticks, to sentence him to be burnt, for instructing young persons in the articles of religion!

Q. Did not the celebrated *John Knox* appear about the year 1555?

A. His arrival, in *Scotland*, gave great life to the reformation. He had been carried into *France*, at the time that the castle of *St. Andrew's* was taken; and after his escape from that kingdom, had remained in *England* till the death of king *Edward*. From thence he went to *Geneva*; then to *Frankfort*, again to *Geneva*, and from thence to *Scotland*. This was at the close of the harvest 1555. Many persons of reputation flocked to him to hear his discourses; wherein he expatiated chiefly on the unlawfulness of being present at the mass, which he declared to be an idolatrous worship. So considerable was his success, in these exhortations, that a great number of persons withdrew from the churches, and began to separate openly: which being observed by the clergy, Mr. *Knox* was summoned to appear before the ecclesiastical judicatory, on the 15th of *May*, 1556, in the church of the Black-friars at *Edinburgh*. But when the day came, the cause was dropt upon some informality in the summons, as was pretended: though it is more likely that the arrival of a great number of *Knox's* friends in town, might cause some uproar to be dreaded. Upon this his sermons were more publicly frequented. It is certain that Mr. *Knox* preached to a greater auditory, the very day that he was ordered to make his appearance, than ever he had

* *Keith's History*, Vol. i. p. 63.

done before; and continued doing so many days afterwards. The earl of *Glencairn* did, at that time, take with him the earl *Marischal*, to hear one of Mr. *Knox*'s discourses; which pleased the latter so much, that it was thought adviseable Mr. *Knox* should write a letter to the queen-regent, intreating a reformation in the church. Mr. *Knox* did this accordingly, and the letter was delivered to her by the earl of *Glencairn*. But the queen calling it a pasquil, put it into the hands of the archbishop of *Glasgow*. This gave occasion to Mr. *Knox*, to make some additions to his letter two years after; both which he then printed in *Geneva*. Not long after this, letters were brought to Mr. *Knox*, from an *English* congregation in *Geneva*, beseeching him to go and be their pastor; and accordingly he set out for that city in *July*, 1556. But he was scarce gone, when the *Scottish* clergy cited him anew to appear; and upon his not doing this, he was condemned as an heretick, and burnt in effigy at the cross in *Edinburgh*. A copy of his sentence being sent him to *Geneva*, he answered it, under the title of *The Appellation of John Knox, from the cruel and most unjust Sentence, pronounced against him, by the false Bishops and Clergy of Scotland, &c.**

Q. What followed after this?

A. In 1557, the new doctrines were greatly supported, by the preachings of sundry persons in different parts of the country; as *William Harlaw*, and *John Willocks*, (above mentioned,) in *Edinburgh* and *Leith*; *Paul Methven*, a baxter in *Dundee*; other persons in *Angus* and *Merns*; and especially *John Douglas*, a Carmelite-friar, who was appointed chaplain to the earl of *Argyle*; and spoke openly at court, where the earl then resided, against the prevailing superstition of the times. And it was observable, that, from this period, the clergy grew in less esteem: and that even many of that order, both secular and regular, (but especially of the latter,) began publicly to espouse the reformation, and to declare against the corruptions of the church of *Rome*. And now the bishops, perceiving that their opponents increased daily, and were

* *Keith's History*, Vol. i. p. 64.

forming stated meetings and conventicles among themselves; moved the queen-regent to call the preachers before her council, and arraign them for exciting mutinies. But the day appointed for their appearance being come, such numbers flocked together, and the queen was so menaced, that she was forced to declare, she meant no harm to their preachers, and that the present diet should be discharged*.

Q. Did not this give new spirits to the reformed?

A. Yes: and thereupon they sent a most affectionate letter, dated *March 10, 1556*, to Mr. *Knox*, inviting him back from *Geneva* to *Scotland*. Accordingly he, by the advice of *Calvin*, set out, and was got as far as *Dieppe*, when he received advice from *Scotland*, not to proceed any farther; as all things were said to be at a stand there. Mr. *Knox*, being grieved at this, wrote a very pathetic answer to his friends, observing to them, how greatly he was confounded, to find them so unstable in their consultations: and that if any one persuaded them, through fear of the danger which might follow, to faint in their intended purpose, and to prefer their worldly quiet to God's praise and glory; such an one was to be accounted their mortal enemy. That they ought to hazard their lives, though against kings and emperors, for the deliverance of the people from spiritual bondage. And finally, having laid before them many strong inducements, to quicken them to the work; he concludes with telling them, that the reformation of religion, and of public enormities, belonged to more persons, than either the clergy, or the chief rulers called kings. This had so happy an effect, that they were resolved to pursue the reformation with vigour; when a bond for that purpose, dated *Edinburgh, December 3, 1557*, was drawn up, and signed. This bond is called, by some, THE FIRST COVENANT †.

Q. What other particulars will you relate of *John Knox*?

A. He may justly be considered as one of the chief instruments and promoters of the reformation in *Scotland*.

* *Keith's History*, Part i. p. 65.

† *Ibid.* p. 65, 66.

He had been the disciple of *John Major*, one of the most acute men of those times. But afterwards, he not only exploded school divinity, but freely censured many of the Romish superstitions, for which he was forced to fly from *Edinburgh*: and he afterwards would have been murdered by assassins, had not a gentleman protected him. Returning to *England*, he was in such high esteem with king *Edward*, that he offered him a bishoprick; which *Knox* refused with indignation, he being a great enemy to the hierarchy. Being recalled to *Edinburgh*, with others who had been banished, he resumed his ecclesiastical labours. About *November 9, 1572*, he fell sick; and languished from that time, till the 24th of *November* following, when he died. During his sickness, he discoursed on nothing but religion, with his wife, his friends, and his servant. *Knox*, like other celebrated reformers, was exposed to the blackest calumny. *Spondanus*, (among others,) asserting that *Knox's* sermons were so virulent, that they occasioned not only the churches and monasteries to be every where pulled down; the sacred things to be trod under foot; the images to be broken; the ornaments plundered; the monks expelled; the priests drove away; and the bishops ejected: but even all obedience to be refused to the queen-regent; who being deprived of her authority; it was transferred on some persons, whom they chose and appointed as a council*. I shall have occasion to speak again of Mr. *Knox*, in the sequel.—It is certain that all tumults are bad; and that the demolitions above mentioned might naturally give offence to many. However, it was pity that the superstitions and cruel practices of the Romanists, should have given an opportunity for committing such outrages.

Q. When did *Walter Mill* suffer?

A. Anno 1558. Others had suffered before, who will be mentioned in the sequel. *Walter Mill* had travelled, in his younger years, into *Germany*; and, upon his return, had been installed priest of the church of *Lunan*, in *Angus*; but upon an information of heresy, in the time of cardinal

* Dictionary historical and critical, Vol. vi, under the article *Knox*.

Beton, he was forced to abandon his charge, and had absconded ever since. Being now seized in the town of *Dysert* in *Fife*, he was carried to *St. Andrews*, in order for his examination, before the archbishop, and several of his suffragans there convened; and was condemned by them to be burnt. *Walter Mill* was eighty-two years of age, and decrepit; but it is reported that though it was scarce thought his voice could be heard, he yet delivered his mind with so much courage and composure as amazed his enemies; and that, when brought to the stake, he spoke thus to the spectators.—“The cause why I suffer
“this day is not for any crime, (though I acknowledge
“myself a miserable sinner;) but only for the defence
“of the truth of Jesus Christ; and I praise God who
“hath called me, by his mercy, to seal the truth with
“my life; which, as I received it from him, so I willingly offer it to his glory. Therefore, as you would
“escape eternal death, be no longer seduced by the lies
“of the seat of antichrist; but depend solely on Jesus
“Christ, and his mercy, that you may be delivered from
“condemnation.”—*Walter Mill* added, “That he trusted he should be the last who would suffer death in *Scotland*, upon a religious account.” The spectators were greatly moved at his words; and took his death so grievously, that, as a monument of it to future ages, they raised a great heap of stones, in the place where his body was burnt. This they renewed several times, after it had been thrown down, by order of the clergy; till, at last, a watch was set for apprehending any person who should be found carrying stones to that place. This plain, good man was put to death, as it is recorded, with this remarkable circumstance; that the baillie of the regality, having refused to pronounce sentence upon him, no other person could be found to supply his place as a judge; nor in the whole city could they purchase a cord to tie him with, after his condemnation; and that, on this account, his condemnation was suspended for a day: till the next morning, one of the archbishop’s domesticks took upon himself to officiate as a temporal judge, and condemned *Walter Mill* to the flames; upon which, the ropes of the archbishop’s pavilion, for want of others, were taken from

from thence to bind him. It is not known whether this be strictly true; but a certain circumstance is, the sacrifice of this man proved the death of popery in *Scotland*. And, to say the truth, the clergy were so sensible that their affairs were falling to decay; that they, from that time, never dared to proceed to a capital punishment, upon account of religion. Infomuch, that in the synod held in *Edinburgh*, in *July* this year; some persons who had been impeached of heresy, were only condemned upon their non-appearance, to make a public recantation at the market-cross of that city, on the 1st of *September* following, being *St. Giles's-Day*, the tutelar saint of the city*.

Q. Did not something remarkable happen, with regard to the image or picture of *St. Giles*?

A. The feast of that saint approaching, it was usual to carry his image in procession through the town; and the queen-regent was to honour the solemnity with her presence. But when the time was come, the image was missing: it having been stole from its station, by some who were too wise to pray to it. This caused a halt to be made, till another image was borrowed from the Greyfriars, with which they set forward: and, after the queen had accompanied them a considerable way, she withdrew into the lodging where she was to dine. But no sooner was she gone, than some persons, who had been purposely appointed, tore the picture from off the shoulders of those who carried it; threw it into the dirt; broke it to pieces, and spoiled the glory of the whole pageantry. Upon this the people fell a shouting; the priests took to their heels; and there was a great tumult, in the street, during some hours after: till at last, the magistrates having quelled the mob; and the priests being told that there was more fear than danger, crept again out of their lurking holes; when re-assembling, they judged it would be best to assume a face of confidence, hoping thereby to strike a terror into their enemies. About this time, some persons travelled all over *Scotland*, soliciting subscriptions, in order to carry on the work of the reformation, under the name of the Congregation, in which they succeeded greatly†.

* *Keith's History*, Part i, p. 68.

† *Ibid.* Vol. i. p. 68.

Q. Did not a sermon, preached by Mr. *Knox*, against idolatry and the Romish superstitions, occasion great disorders?

A. This happened at *Perth*, in 1559. After sermon was over, and the better sort of people were gone to dinner, some godly men remained in the church; when a priest was so imprudent as to open a tabernacle, or case, in which was curiously engraved the history of a great many saints; and he was preparing to say mass. A young boy observing this, cried aloud;—This is intolerable!—As God plainly condemns, in scripture, idolatry; shall we stand and see it in our own despite?—This offending the priest, he gave the child a blow; which, however, afterwards helped to dash him, and all his brethren, with their saints and wealth to the ground. For this child first threw a stone, which broke one of the pictures: when immediately the whole multitude, being fired with rage, some fell upon the priest and his tabernacle, and others upon the altars: so that in an instant, every thing in the church which favoured ever so little of idolatry, was demolished by them. This being noised abroad, the rest of the people assembled in great numbers, and flew to the monasteries of the Grey and Black-friars, both which they stripped. They next pulled down the house of the Carthusians, a noble edifice; so that, in three days time, nothing remained of those houses but the bare walls. The like outrages were committed in other towns*.

Q. Who were the congregationers?

A. Those afterwards called covenanters; from their congregating, covenanting, (if those expressions may be allowed,) or agreeing to unite, in order to overthrow popery, and introduce a reformation. Among these were many of the nobility, such as the earl of *Argyle*, the lord *James Stewart*, the earl of *Glencairn*, &c. Their great preacher was Mr. *John Knox* above mentioned, whose sermons and discourses had a mighty influence on the minds of his hearers. These congregationers waged war against the queen-regent, who, though of an excellent disposition, yet being a *French* woman, of the family of the *Guises*,

* *Keith's History*, Part i. p. 84, 85.

and guided by *French* counsels, many irregularities ensued, and many outrages were committed. It is said, the lords, among the congregationers, and Mr. *Knox*, used their utmost endeavours to restrain the violence of the vulgar, among their followers, who were resolved to demolish every thing popish in *Scotland*. On this occasion the fine abbey of *Scoon*, where the kings of *Scotland* were usually crowned, near *Perth*, was burnt down. While the flames were ascending, an old woman perceiving that many were offended thereat, cried aloud:—Now I see, and understand, that God's judgments are just; and that no man is able to save, where he will punish. Since my remembrance, this place (the abbey) has been nothing else but a den of whoremongers. It is incredible to believe, how many wives have been adulterated, and virgins deflowered, by the filthy beasts who have been fostered in this den; but especially by that wicked man who is called the bishop. If all men knew as much as I do, they would praise God, and no one would be offended.—At these words many were pacified*; affirming, with her, that this was God's just judgment.—These things happened about the year 1559.

Q. Did not a disturbance, of a whimsical nature, break out in the chapel of *Mary* queen of *Scots*?

A. This happened in 1564-5, and was as follows. One *Moffet*, who used to attend the court much, was commonly seized with a frenzy every three years. In one of these fits he fancied himself to be queen *Mary's* husband. He was said to be a strong protestant, and very godly when in his wits. This man coming one day into the queen's chapel, and finding the queen at mass, drew his sword; drove the priest from the altar into the vestry; broke the chalice; and pulled to pieces all the robes and relics; the cross, and the candlesticks; in short, every thing there was cut or broke. The priest who officiated was a doctor of the *Sorbonne*; and the queen's physician was then present, who was seized with so great a panick, that he hid himself behind the tapestry till the madman's rage was over. Queen *Mary* was greatly offended at this disturb-

* See *Knox's* History.

ance, which, at the same time, pleased all those who disapproved of the Romish superstitions *.

2. What other persons suffered in *Scotland*, on a religious account, before these already mentioned?

A. In the fifteenth century, some of *Wickliff's* followers began to creep into *Scotland*; and, *Anno* 1407, one *Resby*, an *Englishman*, was burnt for preaching certain doctrines contrary to the papal authority. Some years after, *Paul Crazo*, an *Hussite* and *Bohemian*, was burnt, for instilling the principles of that party, into some persons at *St. Andrews*. Towards the close of the above century, *Lollardy*, (as it was then termed,) had spread into many parts of the diocese of *Glasgow*. Upon this account several persons of distinction were impeached; but they answered the archbishop of that see so resolutely, that he dismissed them, after admonishing them to rest satisfied with the faith of the church, and to guard against new doctrines. The like spirit of ignorance, immorality, and superstition, having possessed the clergy of *Scotland*, which was so much inveighed against in other parts of *Europe*; we may conclude that it was proportionably greater, in nations less enlightened and polite than in others. The pastoral care was so totally neglected, and the scandal given by the clergy so gross, that the common people, being justly prejudiced against them, were thence more inclined to listen to the new preachers †.

2. Who was *Patrick Hamilton*?

A. A gentleman nobly descended ‡. He had been educated with a design that he should one day be highly preferred; and had an abbey bestowed upon him, to enable him to pursue his studies. Travelling into *Germany*, he there got acquainted with *Luther* and *Melancthon*; and having embibed their doctrines, came back to *Scotland*, where he laid open the errors and corruptions of the church of *Rome*. He was invited to *St. Andrews*, to confer concerning these points; doing which, he was sen-

* *Randal's* Letter to *Sir William Cecil*, March 20, 1564-5. In *Keith's* History, Book ii. p. 271. † *Burnet*, Book i. p. 264, 265.

‡ According to *Mr. Keith*, (Vol. 9. in the note,) *Hamilton's* father was no more than a bastard of the lord *Hamilton*.

tenced and imprisoned. Certain articles were objected to him ; and, upon his refusing to abjure them, *Beton*, archbishop of *St. Andrews*, with the archbishop of *Glasgow*, three bishops and five abbots, condemned him as an obstinate heretick ; delivered him over to the secular arm, and ordered his execution that very afternoon : for the king was gone in pilgrimage to *Ross* ; and *Hamilton's* persecutors were afraid lest, on his majesty's return, *Hamilton's* friends should intercede too powerfully in his favour. Being tied to the stake, he expressed great joy in his sufferings ; as (he said) he should thereby gain eternal life. Fire being set to a train of powder, it only burnt his face, but did not kindle the fewel : so that, a stop being put till more powder was brought ; the friars called frequently upon him, during this cruel interval, to recant ; to pray to the Virgin ; and to say the *salve regina*. One friar *Campbell*, who had visited him often in prison, was particularly officious. *Hamilton* said, that he knew he was not an heretick, and had confessed this to him in private : he charging him to answer for it to Almighty God. And now the gunpowder being come, the fire was kindled ; and *Hamilton* expired, repeating frequently these words. Lord Jesus receive my soul ! He suffered the last day of *February*, 1527-8. *Campbell* afterwards ran distracted, and died within the year ; which, however, I no ways ascribe this to a judgment. But these two circumstances, put together, made an impression upon the people ; and, as these points began to be enquired into, many embraced the new opinions *. This execution is ascribed, by *Drummond*, to a revenge of a private quarrel against the earl of *Arran*.—After this execution, several persons, in all parts of the kingdom, began, as commonly happens in such cases, to enquire into the articles, for which Mr. *Hamilton* had been so inhumanly treated. Many entertained favourable sentiments concerning them ; insomuch that, several of the friars did, from that time, declaim openly against the leud behaviour of their brethren the clergy ; and particularly in that *Lent*, one *Seton*, confessor to the king, presumed to recommend some of the new doctrines from

* *Burnet*, Book i. p. 267, &c.

the pulpit ; and to set forth to the people, the virtues which *St. Paul* requires in a good minister. This freedom was not a little grating to most of the clergy ; and they found less difficulty to bring *Seton* into discredit at court, as he had used much freedom in reproving the king. So that Mr. *Seton*, perceiving his majesty's countenance was changed with regard to him ; and dreading the power and influence of the clergy, he retired from court, and went to *London*, after having writ a letter to the king *.

Q. Were there no other sufferers ?

A. One *Henry Forest*, a young ignorant Benedictine, being charged with speaking honourably of *Patrick Hamilton*, was thrown into prison. *Forest*, in confessing himself to a friar, owned that he thought *Hamilton* a good man ; and that the articles, for which he was sentenced to die, might be defended. This being revealed by the friar, it was received as evidence ; and the poor Benedictine was sentenced and burnt. Whilst consultation was held, with regard to the manner of *Forest's* execution, *John Lindsay*, one of the archbishop's gentlemen, offered his advice, to burn friar *Forest* in some cellar ; for, (said he,) the smoke of *Patrick Hamilton*, hath infected all those on whom it blew †. Many others were dragged to the bishop's court, most of whom abjured : but two were more resolute than the rest, viz. *Gourley*, who denied purgatory, and the papal authority ; and *David Smiton*, who, being a fisherman, had refused to pay the tithes of his fish ; for when his vicar came to him for this purpose, he said, the tithe was taken where the stock grew ; and, for this reason, he threw the tenth fish into the sea. *Smiton*, on account of this and other opinions, was condemned, and he and *Gourley* were burnt at the same stake. Mr. *Keith*, vol. i. p. 8. informs us of *Norman Gourley*, and *David Straton*, two gentlemen, who were tried in *Holy-Rood-House*, and burnt at one stake in 1539. The same author adds, (p. 9.) that there was a meeting of bishops at *Edinburgh*, where the following persons were accused and condemned, viz. *Killor* and *Beverage*, two Black-friars ; Sir *Duncan Simson* of *Sterling*, a priest ;

* *Keith's History*, Part i. p. 8:

† *Ibid.*

PERSECUTIONS in SCOTLAND, &c. 83

Robert Forcster, a gentleman of the same city; and *Thomas Forest*, a Canon regular. Those five were burnt on the castle-hill of *Edinburgh*, the last day of *February*, 1538-9. In 1545-6, *David Beton*, cardinal of *St. Andrews*, made a visitation into some parts of his diocese, when several persons were informed against at *Perth*, for heresy. Three or four were banished, and some imprisoned; but the following were condemned to die, viz. *William Anderson*, *Robert Lamb*, *James Ronald*, *James Hunter*, *James Finlayson*, and *Helen Stark* his wife. Great intercession was made for a pardon, but without effect. The men were hanged, and the woman drowned. Perhaps the cardinal was more inexorable on this occasion, in order to set an example (a most shocking one!) to the rest of the prelates; or, perhaps, he imagined that, by this severe punishment, he should put an effectual stop to the progress of heresy, (as it was falsely termed,) throughout the kingdom; as *Perth*, and the places adjacent, were more infected with the new opinions than any other part of the country *. Several more were impeached, who all fled to *England* or *Germany*. These changes brought about in *England*, made the people of *Scotland* desirous of enquiring into religion; a circumstance ever fatal to superstition. Pope *Clement VII*, in a letter to the king of *Scotland*, conjured him to adhere stedfastly to the catholic faith. Upon this his majesty summoned a parliament; when new laws were made for maintaining the papal authority, and for proceeding against hereticks; and yet the Roman pontiff could not prevail with the king to make war upon *England*. The king of *Scotland* married, in 1537, *Magdalen*, daughter to the *French* king; but she dying, he wedded a second consort, viz. *Mary of Guise*, (afterwards regent of *Scotland*,) whose family was most zealously addicted to the old superstition. This queen, joining her interest to that of the *Scotch* clergy, occasioned his majesty to persecute rigorously all who favoured the new opinions †. However, though many were imprisoned, on suspicion of their favouring *Luther's* opinions, and many banished into foreign countries; it yet was soon

* *Keith's History*, Part i. p. 40, 41.
p. 268,

† *Burnet*, Book i.

found, that the kingdom began to be much divided in matters of religion; nor was it in the power of the king and council, to prevent the new opinions from spreading daily. But, as it usually happens in things of this sort, the more violent the persecution, the greater number embraced the principles of the sufferers*.

Q. In what manner was the persecution continued?

A. The king, nephew to our *Henry VIII*, was very expensive both in his pleasures and in his buildings; and having a numerous race of natural children, he thereby came to be in great want of money. The nobility advised him to seize on the abbey-lands, in imitation of his uncle. The clergy, on the other hand, advised him to prosecute with severity, all who should be suspected of heresy; assuring his majesty that he (by the lists they shewed him) might raise 100,000 crowns a year. They likewise urged him to bestow abbey and priories on his children; adding, that if he would adhere stedfastly to the old religion, he would still have a great party in *England*; and he made head of a league, which was then projecting against *Henry VIII*. The *Scottish* king was so far swayed by these arguments, that he made four of his sons abbots or priors; and fomented the persecuting spirit of the clergy. Upon this, many persons were impeached of heresy; some of whom abjured, and others were banished. *Forest*, a Canon regular, had been censured, by the bishop of *Dunkell*, his ordinary, for intermeddling too much with the scriptures. He told *Forest*, that himself, though so far advanced in years, was wholly unacquainted both with the *Old* and *New Testament*; he contenting himself with his pontifical; and that he (*Forest*) might have cause to repent, if he continued to concern himself with such fancies. The archbishop of *Glasgow* being of a gentle disposition, was consequently an enemy to such cruel proceedings. *Russel*, a friar; and *Kennedy*, a youth of eighteen, being brought before the archbishop, expressed surprising joy and resolution, when they found they were to suffer. The archbishop was quite unwilling to proceed to sentence, saying, that such executions did more harm

* *Keith's History*, Vol. i. p. 97

than good to the church. But those about him, declaring that he must not act differently from the other bishops; and threatening him severely, he pronounced sentence. *Russel* and *Kennedy* were both committed to the flames; on which occasion they gave such farther demonstrations of patience and satisfaction, as made a strong impression on all who saw or heard this sad catastrophe. Mr. *Keith*, (Vol. i. p. 9.) writes thus on this occasion. Mr. *Kennedy's* tender years inclining him to some pusillanimity, he was soon fortified by the exhortations of *Russel*; who, among other expressions, used the following.—Now I defy death; do as you please: I praise God I am ready.—*Russel* having reasoned long and learnedly against his accusers, and being answered with railings and bitter speeches, replied:—This is your hour, and the power of darkness: now ye sit as judges, and we stand wrongfully condemned; but the day cometh which will shew our innocence; and you shall see your own blindness, to your everlasting confusion.—Go on, and fill the measure of your iniquities. Among the persons brought into trouble, was the celebrated *Buchanan*, who, at the king's infliction, had writ a most severe poem against the Franciscans, but was now abandoned by his sovereign. *Buchanan* fled from *Scotland*, living twenty years abroad; and at last returned to do his country honour. This author, by his immortal poems, and by his history of *Scotland*, proved himself both a great master of the *Latin* tongue; and a consummate judge in matters of wit; as likewise in human affairs, had he not been led away by passion, towards the close of his excellent history. In a word, so shining were his talents, that he may justly be ranked among the greatest modern writers*. As a contrast to this I shall observe, that some of the *Scotch* priests were so extremely ignorant in this age, that they asserted, that the *New Testament* had been lately writ by *Luther*; and therefore they desired only the *Old* †.

Q. Who was afterwards put to death?

A. Mr. *George Wisbart*, (or *Wischart*,) a clergyman. He had been educated in *Cambridge*, but returned home in 1544. He preached in many places, against idolatry,

* Burnet,

† Rapin, Vol. i. p. 844.

and the other abuses in religion. He continued a long time at *Dundee*, but was drove from that town by means of cardinal *Beton*; but, at his departure, he denounced heavy judgments on them for rejecting the gospel. He preached in several other places; and entrance into the churches being refused him, he gave out his doctrine in the fields. He would not permit the people to force open the church-doors; saying, that this did not become the gospel of peace, in which he instructed them. Hearing that the plague had broke out at *Dundee*, four days after his banishment from it, he returned thither; took care of the sick; and exercised the various offices of a good pastor. He proved his gentleness of spirit, with regard to his enemies, by rescuing a priest that was come to kill him; but who, being discovered, the populace were going to tear him to pieces. It is said, that he foretold many things; especially his own sufferings, and the reformation which would overspread the land. He preached last in *Lothian*, where he was seized by the earl of *Bothwell*, who, though he had promised upon his honour that no harm should be done *Wishart*, yet delivered him to cardinal *Beton*, who brought him to *St. Andrews*, and there assembled the bishops, in order to destroy him with the greater solemnity. *Hamilton*, earl of *Arran*, regent of *Scotland*, being greatly prest to it by a worthy man of his name, (*Hamilton*, of *Preston*,) sent and desired the cardinal not to proceed against him, till he (the regent) should have examined the affair. But the cardinal went on; and condemned *Wishart* in a public court, as an heretick, upon several articles objected to him, all which he confessed, and offered to justify. He spent the succeeding night in prayer; and next morning desired he might receive the sacrament, in both kinds, according to Christ's institution; but this being refused, he himself consecrated the elements; and some about him were desirous of communicating at the same time. *Wishart* was carried to the stake, and fixed near the palace of the cardinal; who was seated pompously in a window, to survey this cruel spectacle. *Wishart* protested that his soul was filled with joy, in thus offering up his life for Christ's doctrine; and he besought the people not to be offended at the word of God, for the

fake of the cross. As the fire was burning him, he said : *This flame, though it scorches my body, yet it cannot daunt my spirits.* He declared that the cardinal would, in a few days, be ignominiously murdered in that very place, where he then set with so much state ; but, as he was speaking these last words, the executioner drew the rope, which was fastened round his neck, so tight, that he could speak no more. His death was greatly lamented, the people considering him both as a prophet and a martyr. This was in 1545*.

Q. Describe the particulars of the cardinal's murder.

A. *Norman Lesley*, eldest son to the earl of *Rothes*, being greatly exasperated against the cardinal, conspired, with some other persons, to take away his life. Accordingly the accomplices went early in the morning of *Saturday* the 29th of *May*, 1546, to the castle of *St. Andrews* ; whence they drove out all the servants and workmen, after having seized the porter, and secured the gate. This was done with so little noise, that the cardinal knew nothing of it, till they knocked at the chamber-door where he lay. He asking, who was there ? *John Lesley* replied, my name is *Lesley*. Which *Lesley* ? said the cardinal : Is it *Norman* ? It was answered, that he must open to those who were there. The cardinal now began to fear the worst, and thereupon began to secure the door.—Whilst they were endeavouring to force it, he asked, will ye save my life ? *John Lesley* answered, perhaps we will. Nay, replied the cardinal, but swear unto me, by God, and I will open. To this *John* answered, what was said, is unsaid ; and then he called for fire to burn the door. Upon this the cardinal, after a promise given him, (as some relate,) that no violence should be used, thought fit to open the door ; and then set himself down on a chair, saying :—I am a priest, ye will not slay me. However, *John Lesley* smote him once or twice, as did likewise *Peter Carmichael* : but *James Melvil* perceiving them both to be in wrath, said :—This work and judgment of God, although it be secret, ought to be done with greater

* Burnet, Book i. p. 292, & seq.

gravity. And now presenting to the cardinal the point of his sword, said ; repent thee of thy former wicked life ; but especially of the shedding the blood of that notable instrument of God, Mr. *George Wishart*, which although the flame of fire consumed his body before men, yet it cries for vengeance upon thee ; and we are sent from God to revenge it. For here, before my God, I protest, that neither the hatred of thy person, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou couldst have brought upon me, in particular, moved or moveth me to strike thee : but only because thou hast been, and remainest an obstinate enemy against Christ Jesus, and his holy gospel.— This said, without waiting for an answer, or allowing him the smallest time for performing of that, to which he had fanatically exhorted him, he stabbed him twice or thrice through the body, and there left him weltering in his blood.—Mean time a report was spread, that the castle was taken : whereupon such as favoured the cardinal, posted thither in all haste, and called for ladders to scale the walls. But when it was told them that the cardinal was dead, whom they sought to rescue ; their hearts cooled ; and they dispersed at the sight of his dead body ; this being shewn to them, from that place where, before, he had beheld the execution of Mr. *Wishart* as the story is related *.

Q. In what manner was the reformation brought about in Scotland ?

A. Anno 1559 †, when there was a probability of completing the treaty of *Cambray* (by which the reformed were to be persecuted) the cardinal of *Lorraine*, of the house of *Guise*, wrote to his sister, the queen-regent of *Scotland*, as also to the archbishop of *St. Andrews* ; informing them of the resolution taken to extirpate heresy ; and pressing them to employ their endeavours for that purpose. The queen-regent saw plainly, that she would thereby not only forfeit the promise made by her to the lords, who had hitherto adhered to her, upon assurances given them of her protection ; but that the peace of

* *Keith's History*, Part i. p. 43.
p. 370.

† *Burnet*, Part iv.

Scotland would likewise be endangered. For, besides that their party (the reformed) was strong, it was not to be doubted but that queen *Elizabeth* would support them : for which reasons the queen-regent was not inclined to favour her brother's bloody counsels. However, the bishops resolved to run every hazard ; and to strike an universal terror, by some severe executions. The first who suffered, at this time, was *Walter Mill*, of whom we treated before*.

Q. Did not this execution alarm the nobility and gentry ?

A. They had presented, the year before, a petition to the queen-regent, praying that the service might be performed in the vulgar tongue ; that the communion might be administered in both kinds ; and that such priests as led scandalous lives might be removed, and worthy men put in their places. The queen-regent being unwilling to exasperate so formidable a party, before the dauphin was declared king of *Scotland* ; promised that they should not be punished on account of prayers having been said in the vulgar tongue. They then moved, in parliament, for a repeal of those laws, by which bishops were empowered to prosecute hereticks ; and intreated that such points only might be judged heresy, as were condemned by the word of God. Her majesty answered, that these things could not pass, because of the opposition made by the spiritual estate. Against this they entered a protest to the following purpose ; That having moved, in the most humble manner, for a redress of abuses, they consequently were not to be blamed for any evils which might ensue from her majesty's rejecting their petition. The queen, after she had obtained her ends, with regard to the dauphin, ordered all the protestant preachers to be served with citations. The earl of *Glencairn* was thereupon sent to remind her majesty of her former promises : but she made him the rough answer following : That they should be banished *Scotland*, in spite of all that might be attempted in their favour ; adding, that princes were bound to perform their promises, no farther than was convenient

for them. They replied, that if the queen renounced her promises, they would renounce their allegiance to her *. This bad conduct of the queen-regent, and what follows, must be imputed to the sanguinary counsels of the *Guises*; she herself being an excellent woman, as will be declared afterwards.

Q. What ensued hereupon?

A. In *St. Johnstoun*, the abovementioned party entered the churches, and there heard sermons publicly. The ministers were flocking from all parts, to appear on *May 20*, (the day for which they had been cited;) and vast numbers accompanied them. The queen, fearing the ill effects of so vast a multitude of people, dispatched an order, forbidding their coming; whereupon many returned home; notwithstanding which, they were declared rebels for their non-appearance. This foul play occasioned many to leave her, and go over to those who were assembled at *Johnstoun*. And now the people were so strongly enflamed, that they broke into the houses of the monks and friars; when after distributing every thing found in them, (except what the monks had conveyed away to the poor;) they razed these convents to the ground. This enraged the queen so much, that she resolved to punish that town in an exemplary manner. Immediately she assembled the *French* soldiers and others: but the earl of *Glencairn* getting together 2500 men, marched with incredible speed to that place, where there were now 7000 armed men; which intimidating the queen, a reconciliation was agreed upon. An oblivion, with regard to every thing past, was now promised; all matters concerning religion were to be referred to a parliament; and her majesty was to be admitted into *Johnstoun*, upon condition of not taking the *Frenchmen* with her. Notwithstanding this, she marched them into the town; when she not only put a garrison therein, but punished them for what was past. Upon their objecting the promise made by her, she replied; *Princes are not to be strictly tied down to promises, especially those made to heretics*; adding, *that she thought it no sin to destroy them all*;

* Burnet, Book iv. p. 371, 372.

and that, when this should be done, she would find good reasons to justify her conduct *. All this (as was observed) must be ascribed to the cruel suggestions of the Guises.

Q. Did not this alienate the minds of the whole nation from her?

A. To such a degree, that they began to pull down images and monasteries in many places. The queen-regent represented all this, to the *French* king, as being done with no other view than to shake off the *Gallic* yoke; and therefore intreated that a greater force might be sent her, in order to reduce the country. On the other hand, the lords sent over certain persons, to give his *Gallic* majesty an impartial account of things; and to inform him, that an indemnity for all that was past, and the free exercise of their religion in time to come, would give full satisfaction. The *French* king began now to be apprehensive, that the keeping *Scotland*, in tranquillity, would put him to great expence; and he saw the danger that must ensue, should the *Scotch* throw themselves into the arms of the queen of *England*. He therefore deputed a person, in whom the constable of *France* put the utmost confidence, into *Scotland*; commanding him to bring him a genuine account of the state of an affair, which was so variously represented. However, before the person deputed could come back, the *French* king died, and the constable was disgraced; when all affairs being put into the hands of the brothers of the house of *Guise*, no moderate councils were listened to. And now the people of *Scotland* rose so universally against the queen-regent, that she was obliged to retire to *Dunbar-castle*. She once resolved to refer the whole affair to a parliament; but 2000 troops coming over, from *France*, to her aid; and assurances being given her of a greater force, she threw off all fear; and advancing to *Leith*, fortified it. Upon this the lords declared, that, during the minority of their queens, the government was vested principally in the estates; and that the regent, being only the chief administratrix, was therefore accountable to them; and thereupon they resolved to remove her from the regency †.

* Burnet, Book iv. p. 372, 373.

† Ibid. p. 374.

Q. Of what was she accused?

A. Of lighting up a war in the kingdom, and of bringing in foreigners to subdue it; of debasing the coin; of governing without the consent of the nobility; and breaking her faith, and promises made to them.—They then pronounced her to be fallen from the regency, and suspended her power till the meeting of the parliament. The lords (now styled lords of the *Congregation*) withdrew from *Edinburgh* to *Sterling*; upon which the *French* marched to the former, and again set up mass in the churches there. Immediately new succours, commanded by marquis *d'Elbeuf*, one of the brothers to the queen-regent, came from *France*, so that there were, by this time, 4000 *French* in *Scotland*. But now the whole nation, as the queen had such a number of foreign forces, united against, and considered her as their common enemy. The *Scotch*, who had hitherto been secretly encouraged and assisted with both money and ammunition from *England*, were forced to implore more openly queen *Elizabeth's* aid; and *France* was so much divided with intestine broils, that this queen was not much afraid of engaging in a war with *France*: whence she was the more easily inclined to aid the *Scotch*. A treaty being concluded between the *English* and *Scotch*, 2000 horse, and 6000 foot, marched out of *England* to succour the *Scotch*. They besieged *Leith*, during which each side sustained considerable loss; but that of the *English* was soonest made up, as supplies were so near at hand. At last, queen *Elizabeth* offered to mediate a peace between *France* and *Scotland* *.

Q. Was it effected?

A. Before this could be brought about, the queen, regent died. During her sickness, she sent for some of the *Scotch* lords, and begged pardon for the injuries she had done them. She advised them to send away both the *English* and *French* out of *Scotland*; intreating them to persevere in the allegiance they owed their queen. Discouraging with one of their preachers, her majesty declared, that she expected to be saved through the merits of Christ

only. She had ruled the *Scotch* nation, till the last year of her life, with so much justice and wisdom ; and set so shining an example to others, both in her own person, and in the order of her court ; that had she but died before the bloody counsels of her brother led her astray, she would have been more lamented than any queen, who had been in that country for many years *. This queen-regent, of the family of *Guise*, is sometimes called *Mary of Lorrain* ; *Guise* being a branch of that of *Lorrain*. She was daughter of *Claude* the first duke of *Guise* : was first married to *Lewis* duke of *Longueville* ; and, after his death, to *James V.* king of *Scots*. The greatest character is given of her by archbishop *Spottiswood*, bishop *Lesley*, *Buchanan*, *Holinshed*, *Camden*, &c. She was a lady endowed with a singular genius, and a penetrating judgment. She had a mind full of humanity and compassion, and was a great lover of justice. In her court she maintained a decent gravity ; nor would she tolerate any licentious practices there. Her maids of honour were always busied in commendable exercises ; she herself being an example, to them, of virtue, piety, and modesty. Nor was she less conspicuous for her charity and good will to mankind. She discovered great sagacity in government. She was obliged to act, in her administration, not according to her own native goodness and propensity, but merely as the council of *France*, and their ministers residing with her, should advise and direct. To conclude, her death was not only much lamented by all of her own party, but even bewailed by those who were in arms against her. Her body was put into a coffin of lead, and carried to *France*, in *October* following ; and buried in the *Benedictine-monastery* of *St. Peter* at *Rheims*, in *Champagne* †. Not long after, a peace was concluded between *England*, *France*, and *Scotland* : an oblivion was granted for whatever had past ; the *French* and *English* were to be sent out of *Scotland* ; and all other affairs referred to a parliament, which met accordingly in *August* ‡.

Q. What was done therein ?

* *Burnet*, Part iv. p. 376, &c.
Book i. p. 129, 130.

† *Keith's History*,
‡ *Burnet*, Book iv. p. 377.

A. All acts, in favour of the Romish religion, were repealed; and a confession of faith, drawn up by *John Knox*, and afterwards inserted among the acts of parliament *Anno 1567*, was confirmed. These acts met with no opposition except from three temporal lords, who declared, that they would not depart from the faith of their fathers. But they were assented to by all the spiritual lords, as well bishops as abbots; who dilapidated the lands and revenues of the church in a most unheard of manner. The abbots turned their abbeys into temporal estates; and the bishops, though they still adhered to popery, divided all their lands among their bastards and kindred; they procuring a confirmation, from *Rome*, of many of those grants. By this means that church was so greatly impoverished, that had not king *James I.* and king *Charles I.* with great zeal, retrieved some part of the antient revenues; and provided a considerable maintenance for the inferior clergy; every encouragement to religion and learning, in *Scotland*, would have been reduced to so very low an ebb, that barbarism must have again overspread that kingdom. When these acts were sent over to *France*, they were rejected with the utmost scorn, which made the *Scotch* apprehensive of a fresh war: but *Francis II.* dying soon after, suppressed all their fears; for their queen, being no longer favoured by so mighty a crown, was obliged to return home. In this manner queen *Elizabeth* severed *Scotland* from its antient dependence on *France*; and acquired afterwards so great an interest in the former, that most affairs there were chiefly governed by her influence*.

Q. When did the states of *Scotland* complete the establishment of the reformation?

A. In 1560; and this was followed by an order to pull down all the monasteries, which was immediately put in execution. *Mary*, queen of *Scots*, on her return to her kingdom in 1561, was received with great demonstrations of joy, both by the nobles and the people. However, she had the mortification to see the reformation established by such strict laws; that none but herself was allowed to have

* *Burnet*, Book iv. p. 377, 378.

mass said in her chapel, and this without any pomp. Nevertheless, some lords still continued to profess the old religion; and being in hopes of restoring it, by her authority, they thence made their court to her with great assiduity. These lords were very considerable, by their birth, their riches, and their vassals; and yet they, perhaps, would never have once thought of restoring the old religion, had they not depended on the queen's favour, who only could balance the power of the protestants. Their first project was, to alienate her, if possible, from such of the protestants as had most credit with her, and with the nation; and as *James Stuart*, her natural brother, adhered strongly to the protestant religion, he thence became the chief object of their hatred. The queen, on her arrival, had made him chief minister, whence they exerted their utmost endeavours to destroy him in her good opinion*. But all the efforts of the Romanists, to restore popery, proved ineffectual; and it has never been able to triumph in *Scotland*, since the times of which we have been treating: and may it be for ever kept from thence!

* *Rapin*, Vol. ii. p. 65.



THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF LONDON
FROM THE FIRST
SETTLING OF THE
TOWNE TO THE
PRESENT TIME
BY
JOHN STOW

THE SECOND EDITION
REVISED AND
CORRECTED BY
JOHN STOW

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Three Kings in
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1633

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HISTORY
OF THE
ROMISH PERSECUTIONS
IN
IRELAND,
AND
The REFORMATION there.

2. HEN was *Ireland* conquered by the *English*?
- A. In 1171, under *Henry II*; though *Edgar* pretended that he had done this long before. *Henry's* Invasion of it was founded on a bull granted to him by pope *Adrian*. In this bull were the following particulars, among others.
- “ You have advertised us, dear son in *Christ*, of your design
“ of an expedition into *Ireland*, to subject the island to
“ just laws; and to root out vice, which has long flourished
“ there.” This was the pretended design of the king;
but the truth was, the *English* thought it greatly for their
F interest

interest to subdue *Ireland*. And that the pope had a strong eye to the interest of the church, is evident from another part of the bull, which runs thus. "We exhort you to do whatever you think proper, to advance the honour of God, and the salvation of the people, whom we charge to submit to your jurisdiction, and own you for their sovereign lord; provided, always, that the RIGHTS OF THE CHURCH are inviolably preserved, and the PETER-PENCE duly paid." On this occasion both the king and the pope acted a very hypocritical part. The latter was desirous that *Ireland* should be subjected by the *English*, because it had not yet acknowledged the papal supremacy: and this was the vice which was to be rooted out.

Q. When was *Ireland* converted to Christianity?

A. Under pope *Celestinus* I, who sent *Palladius* to preach the gospel there. The *Irish* being deprived of this first bishop, by an untimely death, *Patrick* was sent in his stead, who converted most of the natives. Their posterity have ever considered him as their apostle, and still hold him in great veneration. *Ireland*, soon after the conversion of the people, abounded in monks, most of whom became so famous for their sanctity, that the island was thence called *The Country of Saints*. Hence sprung a considerable number of learned (according to those times) and zealous men, who greatly promoted the conversion of other nations. *Camden* observes, that the *Saxons* flocked, in those days, to *Ireland*, as to the great mart of learning; but the *Irish* being frequently exposed to foreign invasions; these expelled both religion and erudition. The invaders were the *English*, the *Norwegians*, the *Germans*, the *Danes*, &c. The island was afterwards divided into seven kingdoms. The *Irish* lost their liberty, by a difference which happened between two of those kings, the weakest of whom invited the *English* to his assistance.

Q. What farther steps were taken in the conquest of *Ireland*?

A. *Henry* II, before he himself went thither, sent *Robert-Fitz-Stephen*, and *Richard Strongbow*, earl of *Pembroke*, who made important conquests, though with an incon-

inconsiderable force; which is ascribed to the great dread the *Irish* were under of the *English* cross-bows. *Henry*, fearing that his subjects above mentioned would become masters of the whole country, sailed from *Pembroke*, with 400 sail of ships; and landed at *Waterford*, October 18, 1171; when the *Irish*, being unable to resist, paid him a voluntary submission. During his stay here, all the kings of the island came to his court, and swore allegiance. He afterwards marched to *Dublin*; where, making some regulations for the government of his new conquest, he returned to *England*; leaving *Hugh Lacy* as his deputy, with the title of justiciary of *Ireland*. In 1393, under *Richard II.*, the *Irish* endeavoured to shake off the *English* yoke. That king went over to *Ireland*, but made no long stay there. In 1398, the *Irish* again revolting, *Richard* crossed a second time into their island; but was forced to leave it, upon news being brought, that there was a design, in *England*, to dethrone him. It was not till the year 1542 that *Ireland* was made a kingdom; the sovereigns of *England*, till then, being styled only lords of *Ireland**.

Q. To whom was the reformation of the church, in *Ireland*, greatly owing?

A. To *George Browne*, an *Englishman*, consecrated (in *London*) archbishop of *Dublin*, the 19th of *March* 1535, in the 26th year of *Henry VIII.* He had been an *Augustinian*, and provincial of his order. *Bishop Usher* gives a very great character of him; and informs us, that it was his merit which raised him to the archiepiscopal see. Having enjoyed it about five years, he, at the time that *Henry VIII.* was demolishing the religious houses in *England*, caused all the relicks and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in *Dublin*, and out of the rest of the churches in his diocese. In their place, he caused the Lord's-Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, all framed and gilt, to be set up about the altar of the cathedral of *Christ-Church*, in *Dublin*. This archbishop

* See *Rapin's History of England*, Vol. i. p. 233, & seq. See also *Camden* and *Bede*.

was the first of the clergy in *Ireland*, who quitted the Romish religion, and professed the principles of the *English* reformers *.

Q. What did he afterwards?

A. Having received a letter from *Thomas Cromwell*, lord privy-seal, informing him, that *Henry VIII.* had thrown off the papal supremacy, in *England*; and was determined to do the like in *Ireland*; and that he thereupon had appointed him (archbishop *Browne*) one of the commissioners for seeing the same put in execution:—The archbishop wrote (in *December 1535*) to the lord privy-seal, in answer, that he had employed his utmost endeavours, at the hazard of his life, to cause the *Irish* nobility and gentry to acknowledge king *Henry* as their supreme head, in matters both spiritual and temporal; but had met with a most violent opposition, especially from *George*, archbishop of *Armagh*: that this prelate had, in a speech to his clergy, laid a curse on all those who should own his highness's (for such was the kings of *England* styled in those days) supremacy: adding, that their isle, called in the chronicles, *Insula sacra*; or, The Holy Island, belonged to none but the bishops of *Rome*; and that the king's progenitors had received it from them. He observed likewise, that the archbishop, and the clergy of *Armagh*, had each dispatched a courier to *Rome*; and that it would be necessary for a parliament to be called in *Ireland*, to pass a supremacy act, the people not regarding the king's commission. He concluded with observing, that the popes had kept the people in the most profound ignorance; and that the clergy themselves knew little more; they not being able to say mass, or pronounce the words, of the *Latin* tongue, in which they had no skill. He concluded with observing, that the common people were more zealous, in their blindness, than the saints and martyrs had been in the defence of truth, at the beginning of the gospel: and that it was to be feared *O'Neal* would oppose the king's commission †.

Q. What ensued afterwards?

* Historical Collections of the Church in *Ireland*, during the Reigns of *Henry VIII.*, *Edward VI.*, and *Queen Mary*. London, printed, and sold by *Richard Taylor*, 1681, p. 2.

† *Ibid.* p. 2.

A. Lord *Leonard Grey* being vice-roy, or lord-lieutenant, a parliament was summoned next year, at *Dublin*; which being met, archbishop *Browne* made a speech, wherein he set forth; that the bishops of *Rome* used, antiently, to acknowledge emperors, kings and princes to be supreme in their own dominions; and, therefore, that he himself would vote king *Henry VIII.* as supreme, in all matters, both ecclesiastical and temporal. He concluded with saying, that whosoever should refuse to vote for this act, was not a true subject to the king. This speech greatly startled the other bishops and lords; so that the act passed with great difficulty. A few years after, the archbishop wrote a second letter to lord *Cromwell*, complaining of the clergy; and hinting at the machinations of the pope of *Rome*, then carrying on against the reformation. This letter is dated *Dublin, April 1538.* He says, among other particulars, "That a bird may be taught to speak with as much sense, as many of the clergy do in this country. These, though not scholars, yet are crafty to cozen the poor common people, and to dissuade them from following his highness's (the king's) orders.—It is meet I acquaint you first, that the Romish relicks and images of both my cathedrals in *Dublin*, (of the Holy Trinity and *St. Patrick*,) take off the common people from the true worship; but the prior, and the dean, find them so sweet for their gain, that they heed not my words. Therefore send, in your lordship's next to me, an order more full; and a chide to them, and their canons, that they [the images] may be removed. Let the order be, that the chief governors may assist me in it. The prior and dean have writ, to *Rome*, to be encouraged, which will greatly embolden the people."—What follows is remarkable, viz. "The country folk here much hate your lordship; and despitefully call you, in their *Irish* tongue, *The Blacksmith's Son.* As a friend, I desire your lordship to look to your noble person. *Rome* hath a great kindness for the duke of *Norfolk*, and great favours for this nation, purposely to oppose his highness *."

* Historical Collections of the Church in *Ireland*, during the Reign of *Henry VIII.* *Edward VI.* and *Queen Mary.* London, printed and sold by *Richard Taylor*, 1618, p. 3, 4.

Q. What did the pope upon this?

A. He sent over, to *Ireland*, (directed to the archbishop of *Armagh*, and his clergy.) a bull of excommunication, against all who had, or should, own the king's supremacy within the *Irish* nations; and adding a curse to all of them, and theirs, who should not, within forty days, confess to their confessors, (after the publishing of it to them,) that they had done amiss in so doing.—Of all which archbishop *Browne* gave notice, in a letter, dated *Dublin*, *May* 1538. Part of the form of the confession, or vow, sent over to these *Irish* papists, ran as follows. “ I do further
 “ declare, him or her, father or mother, brother or sister,
 “ son or daughter, husband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew
 “ or niece, kinsman or kinswoman, master or mistress, and
 “ all others, nearest or dearest relations, friend or acquaintance
 “ whatsoever, ACCURSED, *that either do or shall hold*
 “ *for the time to come, any ecclesiastical or civil power, above*
 “ *the authority of the mother church; or that do or shall obey,*
 “ *for the time to come, any of her the mother of churches op-*
 “ *posers or enemies, or contrary to the same, of which I have*
 “ *here sworn unto: so God, the blessed virgin, St. Peter,*
 “ *St. Paul, and the holy evangelists, help, &c.*” The councils
 of *Lateran* and *Constance*, expressly declare, that no favour
 should be shewn to hereticks, nor faith kept with them.
 That they ought to be excommunicated and condemned,
 and their estates confiscated; and that princes are obliged,
 by a solemn oath, to root them out of their respective do-
 minions*. Very justly, therefore, might Dr. *Borlase* ob-
 serve, that “ the martyrology, (speaking of the *Irish* mas-
 “ sacre of 1641,) exceeded that of former ages; and that
 “ it is amazing to reflect, that more arts of cruelty have
 “ been invented by the Romish clergy, in their persecu-
 “ tions of the protestants, than were ever practised by the
 “ heathens.”—How abominable a church must that be,
 which thus dares to trample upon kings! how stupid the
 people who pay a regard to the injunctions of such a
 church!—In the archbishop's last mentioned letter, dated
May 1538, he says, that “ His highness's vice-roy, of
 “ this nation, is of little or no power with the old na-

* God's Goodness visible, p. 126

“tives.—This nation is poor in wealth, and not sufficient
 “to oppose them.—Now, both *English* race and *Irish*
 “begin to oppose your lordship’s orders; and do lay aside
 “their national quarrels, which I fear will, (if any thing
 “will,) cause a foreigner to invade this nation *.”

Q. Was not a Franciscan-friar seized not long after by
 archbishop Browne?

A. Yes, one *Thade O'Brian*, who had got a paper sent
 from *Rome*, dated *May 1538*, and directed to *O'Neal*. In
 this letter were the following words;—“His holiness
 “*Paul*, now pope, and the council of the fathers, have
 “lately found, in *Rome*, a prophecy, of one *St. Lacerianus*,
 “an *Irish* bishop of *Cashell*, wherein he saith: *That the*
 “*mother church of Rome falleth, when, in Ireland, the*
 “*catholic faith is overcome. Therefore, for the glory of the*
 “*mother church, the honour of St. Peter, and your own*
 “*secureness, suppress heresy, and his holiness’s enemies.*”—This
Thade O'Brian, after farther examination and search made,
 was pilloryed, and kept close prisoner till the king’s far-
 ther orders should arrive for his trial. But news coming
 over from *England*, that *Thade O'Brian* was to be hanged,
 he laid violent hands on himself, in the castle of *Dublin*.
 His dead corps was carried to *Gallows-Green*, where being
 hung up, it was afterwards buried. Others say, that it
 was removed, from thence, to the monastery of *St. Francis*
 in *Dublin* †.

Q. What happened here upon the accession of *Edward VI.*
 to the throne?

A. An order was directed, to *Sir Anthony Leger*, the lord
 deputy of *Ireland*, commanding that the liturgy, in *English*,
 be forthwith set up in *Ireland*; there to be observed with-
 in the several bishopricks, cathedrals, and parish churches;
 and it was first read in *Christ-Church, Dublin*, on *Easter-*
Day 1551, before the said *Sir Anthony*, archbishop *Browne*,
 and others. Part of this order was as follows:—“Where-
 “as our gracious father, king *Henry VIII.*, taking into
 “consideration, the bondage and heavy yoke that his true
 “and faithful subjects sustained, under the jurisdiction of
 “the bishop of *Rome*;—how several fabulous stories, and

* Historical Collections, p. 5, 6.

† Idem. p. 6, 7.

“ lying wonders misled our subjects ;—dispensing, with the
 “ sins of our nations, by their indulgences and pardons,
 “ for gain ; purposely to cherish all evil vices, as rob-
 “ beries, rebellions, thefts, whoredoms, blasphemy, ido-
 “ latry, &c. our gracious father hereupon dissolved all
 “ priories, monasteries, abbeyes, and other pretended reli-
 “ gious houses ; as being but nurseries for vice or luxury,
 “ more than for sacred learning, &c.”—I quote the above
 words of the order to shew the shocking evils, arising from
 the institutions and practices of the church of *Rome* *.

Q. Did not the papists forge a miracle, when the
 Common-Prayer was first received in *Christ-Church,*
Dublin ?

A. A most vile one, which was as follows.—There
 stood, in this cathedral, a marble image of Christ, hold-
 ing a reed in his hand, with a crown of thorns on his
 head. Whilst the *English* service (the Common-Prayer)
 was reading before the lord-lieutenant, the archbishop of
Dublin, the privy-council, the lord-mayor, and a great
 congregation, blood was seen to run through the crevices
 of the crown of thorns, and to trickle down the face of
 the image. Hereupon, some of the contrivers of the
 imposture cried aloud :—“ See how our Saviour’s image
 “ sweats blood !—But it must necessarily do this, since
 “ heresy, [the Common-Prayer,] is come into the
 “ church.”—Immediately many of the common people
 prostrated themselves, with beads in their hands before the
 image, and prayed to it. Vast numbers flocked to see this
 sight ; whence such confusion arose, that the congregation
 broke up ; and the lord-lieutenant, and council, hastened
 out of the choir, for fear of danger. But now the arch-
 bishop, suspecting the cheat, caused the image to be
 searched and washed, to see whether it would bleed
 afresh. This was no sooner done, but a sponge was
 found within the hollow of the image’s head, which one
Leigh, (some time a monk of that cathedral,) had soaked
 in blood : and watching his opportunity, early on *Sunday*
 morning, had fixed the sponge, so swoln with blood,
 within the crown of the image’s head ; that the blood

* Historical Collections, p. 7, 8.

fell, drop by drop, upon the face.—Immediately the sponge was brought down, and shewed to those worshippers; who, now greatly ashamed, cursed father *Leigh*, and the contrivers of the cheat. These afterwards did public penance in the church; and stood on a table before the pulpit, with their crimes writ on their breasts: the archbishop preaching that day, before the lord-lieutenant, and council, on the seasonable text following:—*God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe a lye.* 2 Thess. ii. 11. The news of this imposture being brought to *England*, at the time that queen *Elizabeth* was of opinion, that images ought to be kept in churches, might, very possibly, induce her, to issue an order, for removing all such.*.

Q. Were not the Romish clergy, of *Ireland*, great fomenters of the rebellions in that kingdom?

A. This is particularly evident from their treacherous and disloyal behaviour, under queen *Elizabeth* and king *James I.* they urging continually, to the people, the lawfulness of killing all protestants, who supported the right of the crown of *England*, to *Ireland*: assuring, that all papists who should die fighting against the protestants, would go immediately to heaven.—These *Irish* ecclesiasticks, under *Charles I.* were greatly increased by titular Romish archbishops, bishops, deans, vicars-general, abbots, priests, and friars; for which reason in 1629, the public exercise of the popish rites and ceremonies was forbid. Nevertheless, soon after, the Romish clergy erected a new popish university in the city of *Dublin*. Not contented with this, they proceeded to build, publickly, monasteries and nunneries, in many parts of the kingdom; and in those places, these very Romish clergy, and the chiefs of the *Irish*, held frequent meetings; and, from thence used to pass to and fro, to *France* and *Spain*, to *Flanders*, to *Lorrain* and *Rome*; where the detestable rebellion of 1641, was then hatching, by *O'Neal*, and his followers †.

Q. What happened here, previous to the publishing, proclamations for reading the *English* liturgy?

* God's Goodness visible, &c. p. 8, and 9.
p. 16, 17.

† *Ibidi.*

A. Upon the coming over of the order from *England*, Sir *Anthony St. Leger* summoned an assembly of the archbishops, bishops, and other clergy of *Ireland*, and informed them of the king's pleasure. Immediately *George Dowdall*, archbishop of *Armagh*, stood up, and opposed the order with all his might; saying, then every illiterate fellow will be able to read the mass. To this Sir *Anthony* answered; there are already too many illiterate priests, who know not the meaning of the *Latin*, nor can even pronounce it. *George Dowdall* then bid Sir *Anthony* beware of the clergy's curse; to which the other replied, that he feared it not. Then *George Dowdall* left the assembly, with several of his suffragan bishops (him of *Meath* excepted;) whereupon archbishop *Browne* taking the order from Sir *Anthony*, declared his submission to it, in like manner as *Jesus* did to *Cæsar*, in all things just and lawful. Now several of the more moderate bishops and clergy, joined with archbishop *Browne*; soon after which Sir *Anthony St. Leger* was recalled to *England*; and Sir *James Crofts* placed in his room, in *April 1559*. *George Dowdall* still refusing to obey the order aforesaid, he was deprived of the title of primate of all *Ireland*; and the same was conferred on *George Browne*, then archbishop of *Dublin*; after which *George Dowdall*, according to some writers, was banished*.

2. What happened on the demise of king *Edward VI.* the 6th of *June 1553*.

A. A council being summoned in *Dublin*, a division sprung up, some declaring for lady *Jane Grey*, others for lady *Mary*, who, at last, was voted queen; upon the promise she made, to confirm every thing enacted in the reigns of *Henry VIII.* and *Edward VI.* She kept it during three or four months, after her coronation; but, then, having accomplished her design, she, pursuant to the practice of the papists, broke her faith with hereticks; after which every thing was undone that had been settled by the reformers, who then were persecuted with fire and faggot in *England*. Sir *James Crofts* being recalled, and Sir *Anthony St. Leger* put in his place, *George Browne* was

* Historical Collections, p. 9, 10.

deprived of his archiepiscopal see, which, after continuing vacant two years, was filled by *Hugh Corrin* or *Corwine*, an *Englishman*, who was also made chancellor of *Ireland*. For this purpose queen *Mary* sent a letter, dated *Greenwich*, *September 25*, in the second and third year of her reign.—*George Browne* died not long after. At *Easter 1551*, he had preached a sermon in *Christ-Church*, upon the following text, *Open mine eyes, that I may see the wonders of thy law*. Psalm *cxix.* verse *18*, in which he inveighed against the church of *Rome*; and particularly against the *Jesuits*, of whom he says, “These shall spread
“ over the whole world; shall be admitted into the coun-
“ cils of princes, and they never the wiser; charming
“ of them, yea, making your princes reveal their hearts,
“ and the secrets therein unto them, and yet they not
“ perceive it.—But, in the end, God, to justify his law,
“ shall suddenly cut off this society, even by the hands of
“ those who have most succoured them, and made use of
“ them; so that, in the end, they shall become odious to
“ all nations, and be worse than *Jews**.” It were most heartily to be wished, that the above may be prophetic; of which we may entertain some hopes, from the treatment their order has lately met with, very justly, in *Portugal*, and also in *France*†.

Q. Did not an extraordinary accident prevent the protestants, in *Ireland*, from being persecuted?

A. Yes, and that is as follows. Queen *Mary*, resolving to persecute them, appointed *Dr. Cole*, (a bloody agent of *Bonner*,) one of the commissioners for this purpose. He, being arrived at *Chester*, with his commission; the mayor of that city being a papist, waited upon him; when the doctor taking out of his cloak-bag, (before the mayor,) a leather-box, said, *Here is a commission that shall lash the hereticks of Ireland*. The good woman of the house being a protestant; and having a brother in *Dublin*, named *John Edmonds*, was greatly troubled at what she heard. But watching her opportunity, whilst the mayor was taking his leave, and the doctor complimenting him down

* Historical Collections, p. 11, & seq.
January 1752.

† I write this, in
stairs;

stairs; she opened the box; took out the commission; and, instead thereof, laid in a sheet of paper, with a pack of cards, and the knave of clubs at top. The doctor not suspecting any thing, put up the box, and arrived with it in *Dublin* in September 1558. Then waiting upon the lord *Fitz Walters*, at that time vice-roy, he presented the box to him, which being opened, nothing was found therein but a pack of cards. This startling all the persons present, the lord-deputy said, "We must procure another commission; and, in the mean time, let us shuffle the cards." Dr. *Cole* was returning to *England*, to get another commission; but waiting for a wind, news came that queen *Mary* was dead, very happily for the protestants, who, by this means, escaped a cruel persecution. The above relation is confirmed by historians of the greatest credit; who add, that queen *Elizabeth* settled a pension of forty pound *per ann.* upon the abovementioned *Elizabeth Edmonds*, for having thus saved the lives of her protestant subjects*.

Q. What was the state of *Ireland*, at queen *Elizabeth*'s accession to the throne?

A. It was inhabited by the native *Irish*; and by *English* families who had been transplanted thither, ever since the reign of *Henry II*; and was governed by a vice-roy or lord-lieutenant. His authority, however, was not considerable enough to awe the *Irish*. There were, among these, many great men, who, though they outwardly recognized the king of *England*'s sovereignty; yet imagined they had a right to do themselves justice, whenever any supposed injury was done to them. Hence those lords frequently made war one upon another, regardless of the vice-roys, who had not force sufficient to check them; but were obliged to send for troops from *England*, whenever a rebellion broke out in *Ireland*; and as this was expensive, forces were never sent over but in the last extremity. Thus, as few of the lord-lieutenants were able to force obedience, they thence willingly connived at the destructive irregularities committed by the *Irish* lords, for fear of hurting the royal authority: but, contenting themselves

* Historical Collection, p. 17, 18.

with filling their purses; they left, to their successors, the curbing the insolence of the *Irish*. This conduct swelled the lords of the country with so much arrogance; that they acknowledged the royal authority no farther than was just sufficient to protect them from their enemies. Add to this, the aversion that the *Irish* naturally had for the *English* government; which aversion was increased on occasion of the change projected by queen *Elizabeth*, in matters of religion. The *Irish* being extremely ignorant, had thence a strong attachment to the pope; a circumstance which disposed them to listen to the Romish emissaries, who were perpetually exciting them to rebellion. Hence queen *Elizabeth* was obliged to keep a watchful eye over the transactions of that island; well knowing the great credit which the pope, her mortal enemy, had in it. Notwithstanding all her precautions, in 1567, a rebellion broke out in *Ireland*, headed by *Shan O'Neal*, a lord of great interest in the northern part of that island: but it ended with the death of that rebel, who was slain by his own people. In 1569 fresh commotions broke out in that kingdom, excited by *Edmund* and *Peter Boteler*, brothers to the earl of *Ormond*; who, being sent from *England*, persuaded them to lay down their arms. This rebellion had been fomented by the king of *Spain*, who, in conjunction with the pope, also endeavoured to spirit up another in 1577, by the advice of *Thomas Stukeley*, an *English* fugitive. In 1594, the famous *Hugh O'Neal*, earl of *Tir-oen*, raised a mighty rebellion in *Ireland*, he having been promised assistance from the king of *Spain*; which obliged queen *Elizabeth* to send a strong re-inforcement to the abovementioned island. This rebellion continued some years. The earl of *Essex* was sent, in 1599, to *Ireland*, at the head of 20,000 foot, and 1300 horse, who yet were not able to put out this flame; so vigorously was it fomented by *Tir-oen*; and it was not extinguished till after the arrival of the lord *Mountjoy* in that island, viz. till 1602, when *Tir-oen* came and submitted himself to him, and was afterwards pardoned by queen *Elizabeth*. About the year 1607, the lord *Mountjoy* brought *Tir-oen* to *London*, and presented him to king *James I*, who received him very graciously; but *Tir-oen* returning afterwards to
Ireland,

Ireland, he again attempted to raise a rebellion, but not succeeding, was forced to fly from that island.

2. What remarkable transactions happened, in *Ireland*, from the above year 1607, till 1641?

A. Few or none : but the catastrophe of the latter year will remain, in characters of blood, to latest posterity. The rebels of *Ireland*, a little before this, had presented to the lords justices of that kingdom, a remonstrance, demanding the free exercise of their religion, and a repeal of all laws to the contrary; to which both houses of parliament, in *England*, solemnly answered, that they would never grant any toleration to the popish religion in *Ireland*. On the 23d of October, 1641, (the feast of *Ignatius Loyola*, founder of the Jesuits,) there broke out a desperate and most formidable rebellion. The revolt was general. This was a rebellion, so execrable in itself, so odious to God and to the whole world; that no age, no kingdom, no people, can parallel the horrid cruelties, and the abominable murders, which were then, without number or without mercy, committed upon the protestant *British* inhabitants, of every age, quality, or condition, throughout the land *. In *Multifernan Abbey*, a convent of Franciscans in the county of *Westmeath*, the horrid resolution was taken, how, most effectually to extirpate and destroy the whole race of protestants in *Ireland*; which was then concluded should be perpetrated, either by total banishment, (the punishment inflicted on the *Moors* in *Spain*;) or by death, or miseries worse than either. And so very closely, and under such a disguise of friendship, was this hideous conspiracy carried on by these men; that visits of seeming kindness were never so frequently made to the protestants, as at that very time. This was done, the more compleatly, to effect the inhuman and treacherous designs then machinating. The Romish clergy were first in the secret, and had a great share in this detestable conspiracy, by means of the unbounded influence they had over the minds and consciences of their people. That the papists were at the bottom of this conspiracy, was

* God's Goodness visible in our Deliverance from Popery. A Sermon by Henry, Lord Bishop of *Dromore*, p. 4. (in the Note,) London, 1743, 4to.

PERSECUTIONS in IRELAND, &c. III

evident from the letter writ by pope *Urban*, to the rebel *O'Neal*, *October* 18, 1642; and to the popish clergy and nobles of *Ireland* the *February* following. But most expressly was this unheard of scene of cruelty, publickly justified and approved of in the very words of pope *Urban VIII*, to the catholicks of *Ireland*; wherein the rebels, who engaged in this enormous and most detestable act, were promised to be publickly rewarded with a plenary indulgence, and a remission of all their sins*. This execrable conspiracy was first discovered by *Owen O'Connell*, an *Irishman*; for which most signal service, the parliament of *England* voted him five hundred pounds, and a pension of two hundred pounds *per ann.* until better provision could be made for him †. And so very seasonably was this plot discovered, even but a few hours before the city and castle of *Dublin* were to have been surprized; that the lords justices had but just time to put themselves, and the city, in a posture of defence; and to seize the lord *Mac Guire*, and his accomplices, in their beds; in whose lodgings were found swords, hatchets, pole-axes, hammers, and such other instruments of death as had been prepared, for the utter extirpation of the hereticks: those wretches having come, the night before, into *Dublin*, to execute this treacherous and inhuman design ‡.

Q. What other remarkable particulars happened?

A. *October* 22, 1641, Sir *Phelim O'Neal*, upon pretence of paying a friendly visit, to the lord *Charlemont*, first seized him perfidiously in the castle, or fort of *Charlemont*; took all in the castle; killed his servants before his eyes; and, a few days after, basely murdered that noble lord, and others in cold blood; as fully appeared in the trial of lord *Mac Guire*; who was executed, for high-treason, at *London*, in 1644. And having thus begun to embrue their hands in innocent blood, they continued to hang, drown, burn, bury alive; and, by other methods of torture, to massacre great multitudes of the *British* protestants, who had not time to save themselves by flight ||. The Jesuits, priests, and friars, having

* God's Goodness, &c. p. 17, & seq.
Temple's History of the *Irish* Rebellion.
ness, &c. p. 11.

|| *Ibid.* p. 27, 28.

† See Sir *John*.
‡ God's Good-

a great share in this detestable plot, they lost no time to promote it; and, when the day for the execution of it was agreed upon, they, in their prayers, recommended the success of a great design; much tending, (as they said,) to the prosperity of the kingdom, and to the advancement of the catholic cause. They every where declared to the common people, that the protestants were hereticks, and ought not to be suffered to live any longer among them: adding, that it was no more sin to kill an *Englishman* than to kill a dog; and that the relieving or protecting them was an unpardonable sin*.

Q. What followed after?

A. As soon as the fire began to break out, and the whole country to rise about the protestants; these immediately flew to their friends for protection; some relying upon their neighbours, others upon their landlords, others upon their tenants and servants, for preservation, or at least present safety; and, with great confidence, put their persons, their wives, their children, and all they had, into their power. But these, generally, either betrayed them into the hands of other rebels, or most perfidiously destroyed them with their own hands†. The *Irish* papists having besieged the town and castle of *Longford*; and the inhabitants, who were protestants, having surrendered, upon condition of being allowed quarter; the besiegers, the instant the towns people came out, fell upon them: their priest, as a signal for the rest to fall on, first ripping open the belly of the *English* protestant minister; after which his followers soon hanged up the rest. In like manner was the garrison, at *Sligo*, treated by *O'Connor Slygah*; who, upon the protestants quitting their holds promised them quarter; and to convey them safe over the *Curlew* mountains, to *Roscommon*. But he first imprisoned them in a most loathsome goal; allowing them only grains for their food. Afterwards, when some rebels were merry over their cups, who were come to congratulate their wicked brethren for their victory over these unhappy creatures; those protestants who survived, were brought forth by the White-friars; and were either killed, or precipitated over the bridge into a swift water, where

* God's Goodness, &c. p. 19, (note.)

† *Ibid.* p. 18, (notes.)
they

they were presently destroyed*. It is added, that the above wicked company of White-friars, went some time after, in solemn procession, with holy water, in their hands, to sprinkle the river; upon pretence of cleansing and purifying it, from the stain and pollution of the blood and dead bodies of the hereticks, as they called the unfortunate protestants, who were inhumanly slaughtered at this very time†.

2. Did not Dr. *Bedell*, bishop of *Kilmore*, suffer greatly at this time?

A. This excellent prelate, so justly remarkable for his learning and piety, was forcibly taken from his episcopal residence at *Kilmore*; where he had charitably settled and supported a great number of despoiled protestants, who had fled from their habitations, to escape the unheard of cruelties committed by the papists. But they did not long enjoy the consolation of living together; for Dr. *Sweeney*, the popish titular bishop of *Kilmore*, soon took possession of bishop *Bedell's* house; said mass, in his church, the *Sunday* following; and then, seized on all his goods and effects. The rebels soon after forced him, his two sons, and the rest of his family, with some of the chief of the protestants in his company, in *December*, into a ruinous castle called *Lochwater*, situated in a lake, near the sea shore. Here himself, with his companions, remained some weeks, in daily expectation of death. Most of them were stripped naked; by which means, as the season was vastly cold, and the house open, they suffered greatly. There they continued till the 7th of *January*, uninterrupted in the exercise of their religious worship; and were afterwards released. The bishop was then most courteously received into the house of *Denis O'Sheridan*, one of his clergy, whom he had made a convert to the church of *England*. He did not long survive this kindness. During his abode in this tabernacle, his whole time was spent in religious exercises; the better to fit and prepare himself, and his sorrowful companions, for their great change; as nothing but certain death, and misery, were perpetually before their eyes.—How-

* God's Goodness visible, &c. p. 19, (note.)
the P. S. p. 51.

† *Ibid.* in.

ever, though broken with age, being then in his seventy-first year, and afflicted with an ague, caught in his late cold and desolate habitation on the lake; finding his dissolution at hand, he received it with joy; like one of the primitive martyrs, just hastening to his crown of glory. For after having addressed his little flock, and exhorted them to patience, in the most pathetic manner, as they saw their own last day approaching; after having solemnly blessed his people, his family, and his children; and finished the course of his ministry and life together; he expired the 7th of *February*, 1641.—His friends and relations applied to the new, intruding bishop, for leave to bury him, which was obtained with difficulty. He, at first, telling them, that the church-yard was holy ground, and should be no longer defiled with hereticks: however, leave was, at last, obtained, and though the church funeral-service was not used at the solemnity, (for fear of the *Irish* papists,) yet some of the better sort of the rebels were pleased to honour the remains of this holy confessor to his grave, for whom they, in his life-time, had had the greatest veneration. At his interment, they discharged a volley of shot, crying out, *Requiescat in pace, ultimus Anglorum*: that is, “May the last of the *English* rest in “peace.”—Adding, that as he was one of the best, so he should be the last *English* bishop found among them. His learning was very extensive; and he would have given the world a greater proof of it, had he printed all he wrote. Scarce any of his writings were saved; the rebels having destroyed most of his papers, and his library. He had gathered a vast heap of critical expositions of scripture, all which, (with a great trunk full of his manuscripts,) fell into the hands of the *Irish*. Happily his great *Hebrew* MS. was preserved, and is now in the library of *Emanuel-College* *.

Q. What were the next sad examples of brutality?

A. Dr. *Maxwell*, bishop of *Killala*, declared †, that in the barony of *Tyrarwley*, where he lived, the papists, at the instigation of their friars, compelled above forty

* See bishop *Burnet's* life of bishop *Bedell*, London, 1685.

† He is sometimes called of *Kilmore* and *Ardagb*.

English protestants, some of whom were women or children, to the hard fate either of falling by the sword, or of drowning themselves in the sea. These chusing the latter, rather than to trust themselves to the mercy of the rebels; they were accordingly forced, by the naked weapons of those inexorable wretches, into the deep; where they, with their children in their arms, first waded up to the chin; and afterwards sunk down, and perished all together. In the county of *Tyrone*, no less than 300 protestants were drowned in one day*.

Q. Was not Dr. *Maxwell*, (afterwards bishop of *Kilmore* and *Ardagh*,) a great sufferer in 1641?

A. He, at that time, lived near *Armagh*, being rector of *Tynon*, in that diocese; and, with his family, was a great sufferer in this rebellion. This bishop, in his examination, taken upon oath before his majesty's commissioners, declared, that the *Irish* rebels owned, to him, that they, at several times, had destroyed, in one place, 1200 protestants, whom they inhumanly slaughtered at *Glynwood*; in the flight of those miserable people from the county of *Armagh*. As the river *Bann* was not fordable, and the bridge broken down, the *Irish* forced, at different times, a great number of unarmed, defenceless protestants, (forty in a company;) and there, with pikes and swords, violently thrust above a thousand of them into the river, where they all miserably perished. Nor did the fair and goodly cathedral of *Armagh* escape their barbarous hands; it being maliciously set on fire by their leaders, and burnt to the ground. And to extirpate, if possible, the very race of those unhappy protestants, who lived in or near *Armagh*; the *Irish* first burnt all their houses; and then gathered together many hundred of those innocent people, young and old, upon pretence of allowing them a guard and safe conduct to *Colerain*; yet fell upon them, most treacherously, by the way, and cruelly murdered them all. These desperate wretches, flushed and grown insolent with this success, (though by methods attended with such excessive barbarities, as were never practised even by the most savage heathens,) soon got pos-

* God's Goodness, &c. p. 51, (note.)

session of the castle of *Newry*, where the king's stores and ammunition were lodged; and, with as little difficulty, made themselves masters of *Dundalk*. They afterwards took the town of *Ardee*, where they murdered all the protestants in revenge for their ill success before *Tredagh* or *Drogheda*, and so marched on, with the same rapidity and fury, to *Drogheda*, being then many thousands in number. The *Irish* hoped they should take that frontier garrison; and afterwards destroy all the protestants, both there and in the city of *Dublin*, with those of the neighbouring counties round it. The garrison of *Drogheda* was in no condition to sustain a siege; and the treachery of the popish inhabitants, within the town, was almost as dangerous as the fury of the *Irish* rebels from without; these being masters of almost the whole country round, on both sides the *Boyne*; yet, so often as they renewed their attacks, they were as often courageously and vigorously repulsed, by a very unequal number of the king's forces; and a few faithful protestant citizens, under Sir *Henry Tichborne*, the governor, assisted by the lord viscount *Moore*, ancestor of the earl of *Drogheda*. The siege of *Drogheda* began *November 30, 1641*, and held till *March 4, 1642*, when Sir *Phelim O'Neal*, and the *Irish* rebels, were forced to retire*.

Q. What was the fate of the city of *Dublin*, at this sad period?

A. This city, the magazine of all the arms, ammunition, and other provisions of the army; and the chief sanctuary of all the *English* despoiled protestants, was now reduced to a very sad condition, and encompassed on every side. The northern rebels being come down in great numbers, as far as *Drogheda*, within twenty miles of *Dublin*; and other rebels, from the county of *Wicklow*, infesting it on the other side: which filled the inhabitants with terror. This was greatly increased, by the sight of vast numbers of *English* protestants, all of them stript and miserably despoiled, who came out of the north. Many persons of rank and quality, covered with old rags, and some without any other covering than a little twisted straw

* God's Goodness, &c. p. 28, 29, 30.

to hide their nakedness. Some reverend ministers, and others, who had escaped with their lives, came sadly wounded. Wives came, bitterly lamenting the fate of their husbands; mothers that of their children, barbarously destroyed before their eyes; poor infants ready to perish, and to pour out their souls in their mother's bosoms. Some, over weary with long travel, came creeping on their knees. Others, froze with cold, ready to give up the ghost in the streets. Others, overwhelmed with grief, grew distracted. Thus was the city, within a few days after the breaking out of the rebellion, filled with most lamentable spectacles of sorrow. These wandered up and down, in great numbers, in all parts of the city; desolate and forsaken; having no place to lay their heads on; no clothes to cover their nakedness; no food to fill their hungry bellies*.

Q. What were the other miseries which beset this city?

A. All manner of relief was very disproportionate to their wants. The popish inhabitants refused to administer the least comfort unto them; whence these poor creatures appeared as so many ghosts in the streets. The barns, the stables, and out-houses were filled with them; whilst some lay in the open street; and others under stalls, where they perished miserably. The churches were the common receptacle of those of the meaner sort: these stood in them in a most dismal posture, as objects of charity, in such great multitudes, that there was no passage into them. But those of better condition, who could not condescend to beg, crept into private places; and some of these, having no friends to relieve them, wasted silently away, and died without noise. And, so bitter was the remembrance of their former condition, and so insupportable the burthen of their present calamity, (to many,) that they even refused to be comforted. Thus, being worn out with the vast fatigue of their journey, and the cruel usage they met with; their spirits being exhausted, and their souls fainting, they lay sadly languishing. And soon after they had got to this city, great numbers of them died;

* God's Goodness, &c. p. 30, (note.)

leaving

leaving their bodies as monuments of the most inhuman cruelty, exercised upon them. The greatest part of the women and children, thus barbarously driven out of their habitations, died in the city of *Dublin*. Such vast numbers perished, that all the church-yards, within the city, were not large enough to contain them; so that the lords justices gave orders, that two large pieces of new ground, (one on each side of the river,) should be set apart for burial places. But what were the sufferings of these unhappy protestants, before they could get out of the hands of these blood-thirsty villains!—What strange and most horrid inventions were employed, by them, in torturing and massacring these poor victims, may be seen in the Appendix to Dr. *Borlase's* History of this execrable Rebellion*. The design of the rebels was, after they had possessed themselves of other towns, to seize the city and castle of *Dublin*; and thus extirpate all the *English*, root and branch; and not leave them posterity, or even a name, throughout the whole kingdom of *Ireland* †. By the relations of those times, it appears that one hundred and fifty thousand (Sir *John Temple* says three hundred thousand) innocent, unguarded, unarmed protestants, had the hard fate to suffer under the most inhuman and most detestable cruelties; were either massacred in cold blood, or sent to starve and perish in the woods, in the coldest and most rigorous season of the year ‡. The massacres reigned chiefly in the province of *Ulster*; but those of *Munster*, *Leinster*, and *Connaught* had their share ||.

2. What does *Rapin* say, concerning the *Irish* rebellion of 1641?

A. As follows:—From the end of queen *Elizabeth's* reign, when *Tir-oen's* rebellion was happily quelled, the *Irish* had lived peaceably under *James I.* and *Charles I.* Not but that the lords-lieutenants ever kept a watchful eye over them, they considering them as a people whose fidelity was greatly to be suspected. However, the *Irish* had no reason to complain, of their being worse treated,

* *London*, printed 1689, p. 109, & seq.

† God's Goodness, &c. p. 11, (text,) and 30, (notes.)

‡ See Dr. *Geddes's* Miscellaneous Tracts, Vol. i. Bishop *Maxwell's* Examination.

Sir *John Temple's* History of the *Irish* Rebellion.

|| Postscript

to God's Goodness visible, &c. p. 50.

by those monarchs, than in the former reigns. As to their religion, it may naturally be supposed, that they had not suffered new troubles, on that account, under those two princes; these having never intended to persecute the Roman catholicks. Nevertheless, in *March* or *April* 1641, the *Irish* formed a design to throw off the *English* yoke; to seize upon all the fortified places; and to cut the throats of all the *English* in that kingdom. The day appointed for executing this bloody design, was the 23d of *October*, 1641, on which day the *Irish* were to rise throughout the whole island. This design was really put in execution; and, it is said, on that, and the following days, above forty thousand *English* protestants [here *Rapin* falls far short of the number] were massacred by the *Irish*. But the project of seizing, the same day, upon the castle of *Dublin*, where was a great magazine of provisions and stores, was discovered by *Owen O'Connelly*, the night before; and prevented by the diligence of the lords justices of *Ireland*, who governed in the absence of the earl of *Leicester*. This news being communicated to the *House of Commons*, by the lords of the privy-council, filled the house with consternation and terror; and, at the same time, with indignation against the rebels. Immediately they formed themselves into a grand committee; and came to the following resolution, (among others,) viz. That 50,000 *l.* be forthwith provided for the service of *Ireland**. The rebellion daily increased; the *English* themselves of the *Pale* [lands so called] joined with the *Irish*; having pretended, for some time, to be attached to the interest of *England*. These *English* of the *Pale*, were descendants of the antient conquerors of *Ireland*, who had settled there under *Henry II*; and who, at the time of the reformation, continued in the Romish religion. Hence it was necessary, to send a strong force into *Ireland*, to reduce the rebels. And yet, though the letters, for aid, from the lords justices of *Ireland*, were frequent and urgent; though the rebels increased daily in numbers and strength; though the king (then in *Scotland*) most earnestly pressed both houses, to send men, money, and ammunition to *Ireland*;

* *Rapin's History of England*, Vol. ii, p. 383.
although

although the parliament of *England* shewed an ardent desire to reduce that kingdom ; it is certain that the succours sent thither were but small ; and were fitter to continue, rather than end the war. It may be thought strange, to see so much ardour in words, and so faint a desire to prove it by deeds *.

Q. Did not the protestants suffer greatly under king *James II* ?

A. In his pretended popish parliament, held in *Dublin*, Anno 1689, no less than 2445 of the protestant nobility, clergy, and gentry of *Ireland*, were attainted of high-treason. At this time, under the earl of *Tyrconnel*'s popish administration, the *Irish* protestants suffered greatly ; as was evident, from the ravages and depredations, the oppressions and hardships, the bonds and imprisonments, and the untimely deaths to which multitudes were exposed. A dagger was put to their breasts ; their houses were fired ; most of their churches shut up, or made their prisons ; the fountains of religion and learning stopt ; the revenues of the city of *Dublin* seized ; the vice-provost, with the fellows of the college, and all the scholars, forcibly turned out of their chambers ; and the buildings at once made a garrison for soldiers. And had not God's goodness been most eminently displayed, in the wonderful and unexpected preservation of the city of *Londonderry*, and town of *Enniskillin* ; by the resolution and uncommon bravery of the persons who defended those garrisons, in the midst of innumerable difficulties and hardships ; there had not one place remained for refuge to the distressed protestants in the whole kingdom of *Ireland* ; but all must have been given up to king *James*, and to the furious popish party who governed him. And had not *Ireland* been providentially reduced to the obedience of king *William* and queen *Mary* ; the failure therein might have proved destructive not only to the *British* kingdoms, but to the whole protestant interest in *Europe* †.

Q. What were the most remarkable particulars of the famous siege of *Londonderry* or *Derry* ?

* *Rapin's History of England*, Vol. ii, p. 386.
Goodness, &c. p. 22, & seq.

† God's

A. It

PERSECUTIONS *in* IRELAND, &c. 121

A. It was opened, *April* 18, 1689, by 20,000 papists, the flower of the *Irish* army; who were prepared with all things necessary for the siege; and assisted by marshal-general *De Rosen*, and another commander, men of great experience. The city of *Londonderry* was not fit to sustain a siege; and the defenders were only the citizens of the town; a company of raw, undisciplined protestants, who had fled for shelter into that city; and half a regiment of lord *Mountjoy's* disciplined soldiers; making, in all, only 7361 fighting men. Upon the desertion of governor *Lundy*, the reverend Mr. *George Walker* was chose joint-governor, during the siege, with major *Baker*. The besieged suffered mostly by sickness and famine, for want of proper food, and a due quantity of provision. They hoped, at first, that their stores of corn, and other necessities, would be sufficient; but by the continuance of the siege, their wants daily increased; and these became, at last, so heavy, that, for a considerable time before the siege was raised, (*July* 31,) a pint of coarse barley, a little greaves, a few spoonfuls of starch, with a very moderate proportion of horse flesh, were reckoned a week's provision for a soldier; and a shilling was the common price for a quart of horse's blood. They were, at last, reduced to such extremities, that they eat dogs, horses, cats and mice. Their miseries increasing with the siege, many, through mere hunger and want, pined and languished away; or fell dead in the streets. And it is very remarkable, that when their long-expected succours arrived, they were upon the point of eating one another; or attempting to fight their way through the *Irish*, which would have been impossible. These succours were most happily brought by sea, by the *Mountjoy* of *Derry*, and the *Phœnix* of *Colrain*; at which time the besieged believed that they had but two days to live; had only nine lean horses left; with a pint of meal to each man. By hunger and the fatigue of war, their 7361 fighting men, were reduced to 4300; one fourth part whereof were rendered unserviceable. And as the calamities of the besieged were very great, so likewise were the terrors and sufferings of their protestant friends and relations; all who, (men, women and children,) were forcibly driven from the country, thirty miles round; and

inhumanly reduced to the sad necessity, of abiding some days and nights, without food or covering, before the walls of the town; and thus were exposed to the continual fire, both of the *Irish* army from without, and from the shot of their friends from within *.

Q. Did not the *Irish* army employ a most cruel stratagem during this siege?

A. They, reflecting that the besieged had many relations in the adjacent country, and had a general kindness for all the protestant neighbours thereabout; issued out orders, to bring together all the protestants, men, women and children; protected and not protected; and to set them before the walls, there to receive the shot of the besieged; whilst the besiegers made their approaches, under their covert. And, in the mean time, to starve them out, in case their friends, in the town, would not, out of compassion, deliver up themselves, and their city, into the hands of these murderers. The dragoons and soldiers executed this order with the utmost rigour. They first stript, and then drove the whole country, for thirty miles, before them; not sparing nurses with their young children, women big with child, nor old decrepid people. Some women in labour, and some just brought to bed, were driven among the rest. The very popish officers, who executed these horrid orders, confessed, that it was the most dismal sight they had ever beheld, and that the cries of the poor people seemed still ringing in their ears. The papists owned, that there were about 5500 of these; that many of them were kept without meat or drink during a whole week; that several hundreds died in the place, before they were set at liberty; and many more, as they were returning to their houses. It is assured that the soldiers, rapparees, and pilferers, who followed the army, left them neither meat, drink, household goods, nor cattle, they having plundered all places during their absence: so that the greatest part of them afterwards perished for want, and many were knocked on the head by the soldiers. The day before the siege of *Londonderry* was raised, the *Inniskillers* engaged a body of six thousand *Irish* Roman catholicks, at *Newtown-Butler*,

* Archbishop King's State of the Protestants in Ireland, p. 197, 198.

or *Crown-Castle*; of whom nigh 3000 were slain*. Those who desire a more ample account of these matters, may read archbishop *King's* "State of the Protestants of *Ireland*, under the late King *James's* Government: in which their carriage towards him is justified; and the absolute necessity of their endeavouring to be freed from his government, and of submitting to their present majesties, is demonstrated, *London*, 1692." Mr. *Charles Lesley* replied, in a work called, *Answer to a Book entitled, The State of the Protestants, &c.* *London*, 1692.

Q Are the papists still troublesome in *Ireland*?

A. It appeared, by a report made there, in 1731, that a very great number of ecclesiasticks had, in defiance of the laws, lately flocked into that kingdom: that several convents had been opened by Jesuits, monks, and friars: that many new and pompous mass-houses had been erected, in some of the most conspicuous parts of their great cities; where none had been built before; and that such swarms of vagrant, immoral Romish priests had appeared, that the very papists themselves complained of their burthen†. Notwithstanding all this, the protestant interest stands upon an infinitely stronger basis than it did an hundred years ago. The *Irish*, who formerly led an unsettled and roving life, in the woods, bogs, and mountains, and lived on the depredation of their neighbours: they who, in the morning, devoured the prey; and, at night, divided the spoil; have now, during many years past, become quiet and civilized. They taste the sweets of *English* society, and the advantages of civil government. They trade in our cities; they are employed in our manufactures. They are received also into *English* families; and are treated with great humanity, by the protestants. The heads of their clans, and the chiefs of the great *Irish* families, who cruelly oppressed and tyrannized over their vassals, are now dwindled, in a great measure, to nothing; most of the antient popish nobility and gentry of *Ireland* having turned protestants. So that the great bulk of the *Irish* people consists, chiefly,

* God's Goodness visible, &c. p. 25, 26.
Report of the Lords Committee of the *House of Lords*, in *Ireland*, *Dublin*, 1731.

† See the

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of the meaner and lower sort, who shew no aversion to the *English* customs, or to the order, which is now seen in that kingdom *. And it is not to be doubted, but that inestimable benefits will accrue, to *Ireland*, from the establishment of protestant schools in different parts of it; in which the children of the poor Roman catholicks, at the same time that they are taught industry, are also instructed in religion and reading; whereby the mist of ignorance is dispelled from their eyes; the great source of the many cruel rebellions with which that land has been infested.

* God's Goodness visible, &c. p. 37.



HISTORY



HISTORY
OF THE
ROMISH PERSECUTIONS
IN
GERMANY,
AND
The REFORMATION there.

WHEN did the reformation begin in *Bohemia*?
A. About *Anno* 1493, some scholars who had attended king *Richard's* queen, who was a *Bohemian*, into *England*, and conversed with *Wickliff*, learnt his doctrines; and returning after to their native country, put his writings into the hands of *John Huss*, a doctor of the university of *Prague*; who, from the hints given him in those works, began to reflect on the errors and superstitions of the church of *Rome*. Afterwards he, with *Jerom*, a master of arts in the university of *Prague*, set about a reformation; they preaching, publickly, against the supremacy, and other destruc-

tive tenets of the Romish church; and thereby drawing over a great part of the *Bohemian* nation to their opinion. Upon this, *Huss* and *Jerom* were both summoned to appear, by the pope, in 1414, before the council of *Constance*: but they refused to go, till they had obtained the emperor's passport for their protection. They endeavoured to defend their new doctrines before the council; but were condemned for teaching thirty articles, as heretical, seditious, or scandalous. They also were condemned as hereticks, and defenders of *Wickliff's* doctrines; and, after being degraded, were delivered over to the secular arm, and burnt, ipite of the emperor's passport. *Huss*, after sentence was passed upon him, appealed first to God; and afterwards, directing himself to the emperor, *Sigismund*, reproached him for his breach of faith. *Jerom*, to save his life, had retracted his pretended heresies; but relapsing into the same opinions, was likewise condemned; and afterwards burnt at a stake*. *Sleidan* informs us, that the ashes of *John Huss* were thrown into the *Rhine*, in order that nothing of them might remain†.

Q. What followed thereupon?

A. The death of these two reformers, who had been butchered in so treacherous a manner, soon occasioned an insurrection in *Bohemia*; and on king *Wenceslaus's* publishing a proclamation, forbidding the *Hussites* to assemble at divine service, the people rose; when forcing the town-house at *Prague*, they threw the burgo-masters out of the windows, together with all those who assisted at the proclamation; whilst the mob, without doors, received them on their pikes and halberds in the streets. On this occasion many of the citizens were killed or wounded. The rabble afterwards demolished many churches and monasteries; king *Wenceslaus* not being able to stop their rage. Hereupon, he sent to desire a re-inforcement of troops from the emperor *Sigismund*, his brother: but he, being at war with the *Turks*, could not send him any. The protestant *Hussites*, to the number of 40,000, being afterwards headed by the famous *Zisca*, a *Bohemian* nobleman,

* *Sleidani Commentariorum*, page 59. *Francofurti*, 1618, 8vo.
† *Idem*, p. 58, 59.

did many surprizing actions, they taking *Prague*, and other fortresses *. These *Hussites* exercised the greatest severities against the Romish clergy ; they sparing neither their churches, nor their altars. *Zisca* died of the plague in 1427. Afterwards mighty feuds broke out between the nobility and commonalty. At the reformation, the *Bohemians*, in general, embraced *Calvin's* doctrine ; whence both the *Lutherans* and Roman catholicks were their enemies. The popish religion is now predominant in *Bohemia*.

Q. How far did *John Huss* embrace *Wickliff's* opinions ?

A. No farther than what related to the hierarchy and the clergy ; it being certain that *John Huss* believed transubstantiation, and died in that belief. With regard to images, his opinion was, that a man might pay them honour, and kneel to them ; light up wax-tapers before them, and kiss them ; because the intention referred that worship to the originals. It is therefore beyond all dispute, that he was not burnt for maintaining errors in the principal doctrines of faith ; but for opinions which opposed the exorbitant power and riches of the clergy. However, all possible endeavours were used, to force him to confess that he did not believe in transubstantiation ; but he never would make such a confession. And yet, by the advice of the cardinal of *Flornce*, the council condemned him, upon the deposition of the witnesses ; these charging him with rejecting that doctrine, though he expressly declared the contrary. We may easily guess the reason, why the council caused that article to be inserted in *Huss's* sentence. They knew that it would appear strange, that a man should have been burnt, whose principles tended to a reformation, in the head, and in the members, of a church, which all *Christendom* required ; and which the council, themselves, pretended to believe necessary. It was therefore requisite to justify the sentence, by rendering *Huss* odious, as having rejected a fundamental article of faith. For this reason, without making any distinction in *Wickliff's* opinions, *John Huss*, and *Jerom of Prague*,

* See *Sleidan's* Commentary, p. 59, & alibi, for part of these particulars.

were condemned as followers of *Wickliff*: thereby insinuating, that they had embraced all the doctrines of their master *. *Luther*, speaking of the sufferings of *John Huss*, and *Jerom* of *Prague*, says, that if they were sentenced for no other points than those brought against them; “The pope, and all his adherents, were most cruel and most wicked murtherers: and enemies to Christ and his church †”.

Q. Are there not other proofs, that they were burnt merely for their opinions concerning the clergy?

A This appears from *Aeneas Sylvius's* ‡ History of *Bohemia*, who writes as follows.—“The deputies of the council, having admonished *Huss* and *Jerom* to forsake their errors; and conform to the opinions of the church, they replied, that they loved the holy gospel, and were true disciples of Christ: that the church of *Rome*, and all the other churches in the world, had greatly deviated from the apostolical traditions: that the clergy ran after pleasures and riches: that they lorded it over the people; took the first seats at entertainments, and bred horses and dogs: that the revenues of the church, which belonged to the poor members of Christ, were consumed in vanity and wantonness: that the priests were ignorant of the commandments of God; or if they did know them, little regarded them.”—*The above historian goes on thus.* “The fathers of the council, perceiving and knowing the obstinacy of these people, [the *Hussites* ;] judged that the corrupted members of the church, which were incurable, ought to be cut off, lest they should infect the rest of the body. Accordingly sentence was passed upon them [*Huss* and *Jerom*] all the fathers unanimously agreeing, that persons who rejected sound doctrine, approved of by the church, merited the fire.”—This plainly shews, wherein consisted the heresy of *John Huss*, and *Jerom* of *Prague*, viz. their charging the clergy with corruption. It was therefore to destroy these enemies of the clergy, that the council made no

* *Rapin*, Vol. i. p. 694.
Commentarius de Lutheranism.
Lipsiæ, 1688, 4to.

† *Viti Ludovici à Seckendorff*,
Pars altera, p. 336. *Frankfurti* &
 ‡ Afterwards pope *Pius II.*

scruple to violate the safe conduct granted, by the emperor *Sigismund*, to *John Huss*; at least to permit him to infringe it. Farther, the council disregarded the promise they had publicly given to *Jerom of Prague*, in order to draw him to *Constance*. It is universally known, that *John Huss* and *Jerom of Prague* were burnt alive at *Constance*; but every one has not been at the pains to examine, what were the errors for which they suffered so violent a death. They were then, and are still, charged, by the papists, with maintaining impious, horrible, and damnable tenets. They were condemned as seditious, obstinate, and incorrigible followers and defenders of *Wickliff*; hardened, crafty, malicious, and convicted hereticks. Had there been yet stronger terms to express those heresies, they would have been employed without the least scruple: but wherein did these heresies consist? In their being disciples of *Wickliff**. It is therefore certain, as was declared before, that the sole view of the council of *Constance*, was, to keep up the power of the Roman pontiffs; and, consequently, to destroy and extirpate all who should oppose their destructive plots?

Q. Who were the *Picards*?

A. A sect in *Bohemia*, who owed their rise to one *Picardus*, a *Flemming*. This man travelling into *Bohemia*; and pretending to the like state of perfection as *Adam* had enjoyed, drew multitudes after him, who, from the name of their founder, were called *Picards*. They paid no regard to marriage, and (some say) lived in an island, called by them *Paradise*; and appeared always naked. However this be, the renowned *Zisca*, above mentioned, being informed of these people, disturbed their tranquillity; and invading their island, put most of them to the sword. Nevertheless, their sect was afterwards encouraged in *Bohemia*, and other kingdoms†. The *Hussites* of *Bohemia* propagated their tenets, in *Hungary*, in the fifteenth century.

Q. When did *Martin Luther* appear?

A. About the year 1517, when a reformation was making in *Germany*; which arose from the vast sale of

* *Rapin*, Vol. i. p. 694.

† *Sleidan* mentions these *Picards*, p. 68. Also *Seckendorff*, Part i. p. 49. & seq.

indulgences, that were publickly vended in all the great towns in *Germany*. In these indulgences, a pardon was granted, to the several purchasers, for all sins, past, present, and to come. This coming to *Luther's* ears, (as will be farther explained,) he protested openly against them: and disputed, publickly, at *Wittemberg*, and at *Leipsick*, against such as maintained the pope's power, of granting the pardon and indulgences in question. *Luther*, hereupon, was threatened with excommunication, and with being pronounced an heretick: but the elector of *Saxony* approving his doctrines, and supporting him, he was encouraged to spread his opinions in other parts of *Germany*; at which time the dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenbourg*, *Wirtemberg*, *Mecklenburg*, *Pomerania*; the marquis of *Brandenburg*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and most of the imperial cities, became his disciples. All these drew up a protestation, containing the points in which they differed from the church of *Rome*; and presenting it to the imperial chamber at *Spire*, in 1529, they thence were called protestants*. The year following they gave in a confession at *Ausburg*, thence called the *Ausburg* confession: when, refusing to recede from the opinions professed by them therein; the emperor *Charles V.* endeavoured to reduce them by force of arms. But after a long war, with various success, he granted them a toleration at *Passau*, Anno 1552; which afterwards was confirmed to them, at *Ausburg* in 1555.

Q. What were these indulgences?

A. It had been taught and believed, during many years, that the pope, out of the inexhaustible treasures of the church, arising from the merits of *Christ*, and the works of supererogation of the saints, had a power of distributing indulgences, on certain conditions prescribed by him, to the greatest and most profligate sinners, for a plenary remission of sin, (as is the practice in *Portugal*, &c. to this day †.) These indulgences are thought, at first, to have extended only to a relaxation of penances, or ecclesiastical discipline. *Urban II.*, in the beginning of the eleventh

* *Sleidan*, p. 158, 159, 160.

p. 8, & alibi; and Part 2, p. 24, & alibi.

† See *Seckendorff*, Part i.

century, was the first who granted a full remission of sins, to those who should take up arms, for the recovery of the Holy Land, then possessed by the infidels. This custom was kept up by his successors; some of whom extended the benefit of their indulgences to such persons who, being unwilling or unable to go thither, should maintain a soldier in their room. At last, these spiritual favours were distributed to those who took the field against the enemies of holy church, or hereticks. Great sums were raised by this means; but they were seldom applied to the purposes for which it was supposed they would be. One *Samson*, a Franciscan friar, collected above 120,000 ducats in *Zurich*, only for indulgences*. *Leo X*, being resolved to follow the practices of the former popes; opened a general mart for indulgences; the benefit whereof was to extend even to the dead, whose souls, upon the payment of a certain sum, were instantly redeemed out of purgatory†. People were permitted to eat eggs, and white meats on fast-days; of chusing their confessor, and such like stuff‡. *Guiccardine*, (book xiii.) declares, that the powers or instruments, for releasing such souls out of purgatory, were openly played for in taverns.

2. Why was there so great a sale of indulgences at this juncture?

A. The pretended war, which the Christians were to undertake against the *Turks*, seemed, to the pope, a proper opportunity of enriching himself, by the contributions of the Christians. To that end, he granted plenary indulgences to all who should contribute on this occasion; and caused them to be publickly sold, at so moderate a price; that any man who should refuse to purchase them, must, then, have been thought vastly careless of his salvation. It was this very circumstance which made the pope flatter himself, that he should raise an immense sum from the sale of this trumpery; as it was imagined, that not a Christian but would purchase them. In the meantime, in order that the monies arising from such sales, might be regularly collected; all *Christendom* was parted

* *Sleidan*, p. 30.

† *Seckendorff*, Part i. p. 15, & alibi.

‡ *Rapin*, Vol. i. p. 736, 737, (notes.) See also *Sleidan*, p. 1, 2.

into certain divisions; in each of which collectors were appointed to receive the money, arising from indulgences; and preachers to extol them. But, by an accident which, at first, seemed of no consequence; the archbishop of *Mentz*, who was commissioned to appoint the preachers in *Germany*, happened to assign *Saxony* to the Jacobins; whereas, in the former crusades, the Augustines had been employed in that office. This raising the jealousy of the latter, they narrowly watched the conduct of both preachers and collectors; and ridiculed, and then complained of them publicly*.

Q. What happened afterwards?

A. *Martin Luther*, an Augustin friar, and professor of divinity in the new university of *Wurtemberg*, published some writings against them. His boldness, on this occasion, drew upon him many enemies; whose opposition prompted him, by insensible degrees, to examine, still more carefully, into the grounds of the indulgences in question. The result of *Luther's* reflections and researches were, that they had no foundation in scripture. From that instant, he used his utmost endeavours, to undeceive the publick, with regard to the opinion, till then entertained, of the papal power. Hence sprung the reformation; which afterwards spread over *Germany*, and many other countries†.

Q. Did the pope ‡ pay any regard to *Luther's* representations?

A. Not the least. He never imagined that the papal power, which seemed to stand upon an immovable basis, could be lessened by a single friar. The pope, therefore, despising so inconsiderable an opponent, continued to sell his indulgences as usual. Accordingly, he published every where, that a powerful enterprize was intended against the infidels; and thence exhorted all Christians to contribute, according to their respective abilities, towards so necessary a war; which would procure them, (abstracted from many temporal advantages,) deliverance from the pains of purgatory; provided they would qualify themselves for these

* *Rapin*, Vol. i. page 736, 737.

† This was *Leo X.* See his character in *Seckendorff*, Part i. page 292.

‡ *Idem*, page 737.

indulgences. However, one thing greatly cooled the zeal of many Christians for the crusade, and this was, their discovery that the pope had disposed, before hand, (for his own worldly use,) of the several monies which were to arise from the sale of indulgences; he having assigned, to his sister, among others, part of the money to be levied in *Germany*. In the mean time, he continued to solicit all the *European* powers. He did not forget to write to *Henry VIII*; exhorting him to join his forces with those of other Christian princes; and to excite him to this good work, he greatly commended his zeal for the defence of the Holy See, and the exaltation of the faith. These encomiums ended in the pope's demanding two hundred thousand ducats for the pretended expedition against the infidels. However, it does not appear that the king complied with his request. The *Turks* were then employed in *Egypt* and *Persia*; and the crusade was founded simply on this conjecture, that the *Turks*, after having put an end to the above wars, would invade *Christendom*.—That man must have been wilfully blind, who did not evidently perceive, that this was throwing dust into the people's eyes; and a contrivance of the pope, only to fill his coffers *.

Q. What farther steps did pope *Leo X.* take?

A. He earnestly pushed forward the business of the pretended war; he contriving, with the ambassadors residing at his court, projects, the executing of which would have required more zeal than princes are usually fired with, and a greater union among them. To accomplish his designs, it was necessary for him to amass vast sums of money; and this was the secret purport of the league meditated by the pope, of which he himself was to be the head and the director. To that end, he exhausted, as it were, the treasures of the church; thereby to prompt all good Christians, to exchange their perishable riches for everlasting advantages. This affair was carried to such lengths, that he sent legates to all the courts, in order to induce the several Christian powers, to join their forces together, for the destruction of the infidels. There was not a monarch among them, but shewed a strong inclination, to put

* *Rapin*, Vol. i. 737.

his hand to so laudable a work ; provided he could have been sure, not to be disturbed by his neighbours : but this it was which rendered the execution of his plan exceedingly difficult ; because those princes could not trust one another. They put as little confidence in the pope himself, since he, from the beginning of his pontificate, had too plainly shewed, that it was not religion he had principally at heart. The world therefore, observing the artful pontiff to act with such mighty zeal ; could not but suspect, that his chief view was, to amass riches for himself, from the voluntary contributions of Christians, from the sale of indulgences, from the tenths of the clergy, and from the liberality of monarchs. Not one of these shewed an aversion to the plan, for fear he should be charged with want of religion : but they all gave mere words, whereas the pope required deeds. Hence his project for an universal league, was not so successful as he had hoped it would prove. However, his project, though altogether chimerical, served as a cloak to many other designs *, and proved him a great dissembler.

Q. What was *Luther* doing during this ?

A. Whilst the Christian princes were all employed in their temporal affairs, the reformation was making a great progress, in *Germany*, by means of *Luther's* writings, which were very eagerly sought after. He went, at first, no farther than to attack the sale of indulgences ; and then the indulgences themselves, and the power which the pope had to grant them. This naturally led him to examine the grounds of the papal authority ; when, being persuaded that there was none to support it in scripture ; he writ upon that subject, without shewing any regard to the Roman pontiff. He likewise attacked, in his writings, the celibacy of priests, monastic vows, and private masses. Although *Luther* had, at this time †, wrote and preached only three years against the pope, he had gained many followers ; and made still more enemies, not only by the novelty of his opinions, but also by his sharp, satyrical writing, in which he threw away all ceremony, towards the church of *Rome*. His book, which made most noise, was entitled,

* *Rapin*, Vol. i. p. 737, 738.

† *Anno* 1521.

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Of the Babylonish Captivity: and in this work the popes were no ways spared *.

Q. Where was *Luther* born?

A. At *Eysleben*, in *Germany*, Anno 1483, and he died in the same town Anno 1546. The citizens set up a statue of him, over the door of the house where he had received his birth. *Luther* was imprisoned several times, in the castle of *Coberg*, for speaking freely of his superiors; and here he, during his confinement, composed several hymns, which are sung, at this day, with great devotion, by his followers. He had received his education in the city of *Magduburg*; and there are still shewn the remains of his chamber, among the ruins of the cloyster of the Austin friars; together with his table and bedstead. Over the door are certain verses in *German*, relating to the above particulars †.

Q. Did not the eyes of people begin to be opened?

A. The reformation was now increasing greatly in *Germany*; and it began to spread in *Switzerland*, *France*, and *England*. Many now disliked a religion, which seemed to be founded upon the Roman pontiff, more than on Christ. Pope *Adrian VI*, hearing of the progress which *Luther's* doctrine was every day making in *Germany*; dispatched a nuncio to the diet of *Nuremberg*; who exhorted the *German* princes, to destroy *Luther* and his followers. He yet confessed, in a letter to them, upon the same subject, that many abominations had crept into the church of late years; *In hac sancta sede* (said he,) *aliquot jam annis* *MULTA ABOMINANDA fuisse*; he throwing the blame of the whole upon the popes, his predecessors. But he declared, that, to reform all at once, were to spoil all; and therefore, that it would be necessary to proceed, gradually, in the reformation. *Luther* having seen this letter, published it in *German*, and added notes. On the other hand, the diet taking advantage of the above confession made by the pope, demanded a free council in *Germany*; in which every one should be obliged, upon oath, to deliver his true sentiments; and requiring a reformation of the numberless

* *Rapin*, Vol. ii. p. 749.
Life, in *Sleidan*, p. 450, 451, 452.

† See an Abstract of *Luther's*
Also, at large, in *Seckendorff*.

abuses under which *Germany* had long groaned. During this, *Luther* still continued to write in defence of his doctrine. He published, among other pieces, a spirited answer to king *Henry VIIIth's* book. This induced that monarch to complain to the princes of the house of *Saxony*. The king exhorted them, at the same time, to forbid the printing of *Luther's German Bible*; for fear, (says he,) lest the publication, of this version, should be prejudicial to truth. But this letter had little effect. Notwithstanding the progress now making, in the reformation; it yet was not considerable enough to engage the attention of the chief sovereigns of *Europe*; their thoughts being wholly intent upon war *.

Q. Did not many princes of the empire embrace *Luther's* opinions?

A. So great a progress was made in the reformation in *Germany*, by *Luther's* preaching, that not only several princes, (as was observed,) but many *Hanse* towns embraced it. The reformers being charged with making a great number of innovations in religion; in answer to this accusation, they protested, that their sole view was to adhere to the doctrine of the gospel, and to the religion of the primitive church. For this reason they demanded, that a free council should be held in some city of *Germany*; where the religious differences might be calmly examined, by the word of God. But their adversaries would not admit of this method. They laid it down as a truth, that the religion, professed before *Luther's* appearance, was the true religion: and, being spotless, did not stand in need of a reformation. From this principle, the Romanists concluded, that the point was, not to enter into an enquiry about their religion; but to compel recusants or hereticks to conform to it. This was the maxim of the Romish clergy, from which they have not swerved: and hence they have employed fire and sword, to extirpate those whom they are pleased to term hereticks. But it was not an easy matter, to put this maxim in practice, at the time we are speaking of, on account of the then situation of *Germany*. Those who declared against the church of

* *Rapin*, Vol. i. p. 757, 758.

Rome, were not private persons only; but cities, whole nations, and sovereigns; so that the abettors of the old religion were not able to reduce the protestants by force: for which reason they chose to feed them up with hopes of a free council; till such time as affairs should be so disposed, that there might be hopes of humbling the protestants by authority. Many diets had been held, for that purpose, in *Germany*; where, contrary to the opinion of the court of *Rome*, the emperor and the Roman catholic princes were forced to conceal their sentiments, and agree to a toleration; which, however, left them at liberty, to act, on another occasion, agreeably to their real principles*.

Q. What was the chief complaint, at first, against the church of *Rome*?

A. The excessive abuse of the papal power, and a few other points. At that time, *Luther* had, on his side, almost all the secular princes of *Germany*; besides several *Hanse* towns, each of which was a republick. From this period, *Luther* made many discoveries, and published them to the world. But he had not so many followers, with regard to other articles, as on that of the papal authority. Farther, the emperor, and the zealous catholicks, opposed, with all their might, the progress of the reformation. Care was taken, to intimidate those who shewed a tendency towards protestantism; or else, to keep them in the old religion, by promises, and places; a circumstance which confirmed them greatly in their first opinions. Thus, for some years, the reformers used all possible endeavours, to win over proselytes; during which the Romish clergy were as diligent in checking their progress. Whilst the two parties contended only in this manner, the reformation was taking root; which obliged it's adversaries to seek for other methods to check it's growth; as those, hitherto employed, had not proved very effectual†.

Q. What farther steps did the Romanists take?

A. *Charles V.* coming, in 1524, to the diet of *Worms*, sent for *Luther*; and, after a hearing, banished him the empire, (by a formal decree in the diet's name,) with all

* *Rapin*, Vol. i. p. 790.

† *Idem*.

his adherents. But some authors declare, that the diet had no concern in this decree. Be this as it will, the emperor persisted in maintaining it: but the *Germans* did not consider it as obligatory. The following year the diet, held at *Nuremberg*, charged the court of *Rome* with an hundred grievances; all which they desired might be redressed, in a free council, to be called for that purpose. Other diets were afterwards held. During these transactions, the war in which *Charles V.* was engaged against the *Turks*, obliged him to suspend his destructive designs against the reformed. But being afterwards at peace, he talked in another strain. In a diet, called by him at *Spire*, he drew up a decree against the reformed; against which the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, and some other princes of *Germany*, entered a solemn protestation, from which they were called *Protestants*; which protestation the emperor received very roughly. This obliged the protestants to unite, in their common defence. A diet was held at *Ausburg*, in *June 1530*, in which the emperor projected a war against the protestants. In this diet, a decree was published against them *. It is affirmed, that in one of the debates in the last mentioned diet, as the protestants were affirming that their religion was the antient one; the emperor himself replied on that occasion; and, with so much heat, that he drew his dagger †. In fine, the emperor caused a decree to be promulgated, against the protestants; after which these met, in 1530, at *Smalcald*; where they concluded a defensive league, against all who should attack them upon a religious account; and against the election of a king of the Romans, contrary to their consent; they apprehending, that the emperor *Charles V.* designed to make the imperial crown hereditary in the house of *Austria* ‡.

Q. Did not the *German* protestants, now begin to feel the effects of the peace, concluded between the emperor *Charles V.* and the *French*; and his intended truce with the *Turks*?

* *Rapin*, Vol. i. page 790, 791.

† *Rapin*, Vol. i. p. 790, 791.

‡ *Herbert*, page 150.

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A. They had hitherto been treated pretty gently : but the emperor coming to *Worms*, in 1545, where the diet of the empire was held, plainly declared, to them, that they must absolutely submit to the council which was to meet in *Trent*. This convinced the protestants, that there must certainly be a design to reduce them by force ; and the more, as it was strongly reported, (and with great foundation,) that a league would be concluded between the pope and the emperor, which must necessarily be against them. Their suspicions were farther confirmed, by a sermon preached by a certain Franciscan, before the emperor ; to whom he presented, in the strongest terms possible ; that he would not discharge the duty of a good emperor, except he employed his utmost endeavours to extirpate the *Lutherans*. They likewise knew, that the emperor had writ to the king of *Poland*, to spirit up him against them. Farther, he summoned the archbishop of *Cologne* to appear before him, within thirty days, because he had embraced the reformation, and endeavoured to introduce it in his dominions. All this shewed evidently what the protestants were to expect. Nevertheless, as the emperor had not yet concluded a truce with the *Turks* ; and as matters were not yet quite ripe, he ordered that a new diet should be held, at *Ratisbon*, in *January* following *.

Q. What did this monarch in the mean time ?

A. The better to amuse the protestants, he decreed, that the divines of both parties should come to *Ratisbon*, a month before the diet ; and there hold a free conference ; in order that something might afterwards be settled, in matters of religion. The Roman catholicks did not approve of this conference ; and the protestants were the less pleased with it, as they foresaw that the stiffness of the divines, on both sides, on the articles to be debated upon, would give the emperor, and the diet, a pretence to refer the decision to the council of *Trent*. The diet breaking up the 18th of *August*, the emperor returned to the *Netherlands* : some time after which advice was brought him, that the truce, with the *Turks*, was concluded. By this he found himself at full liberty to make war upon the pro-

* *Rapin*, Vol. i. p. 843.

testants ;

testants; and, upon that pretence, to execute his project, which was, to become master of the empire. It was properly, at the desire of the protestants only, that the council was to meet; but it was far from being such a council as they required. They thought it would have been held in *Germany*, in an unsuspected place; whereas it was summoned to meet in *Trent*; a city subject to the king of the *Romans*, whom they justly considered as their enemy. Their intention was, to combat the papal authority; whereas the pope was to preside there, in the person of his legates. They designed to demonstrate, that the Romish clergy had corrupted religion, both in doctrine and discipline; whereas the Romish clergy were to sit as judges: and it was even uncertain, whether the protestants would be permitted to exhibit their reasons: and yet it was pretended, that, out of the emperor's great condescension, a council was to be summoned, for their sakes, and at their solicitation. It is therefore no wonder that the protestants should refuse to submit to a council; the effects of which they as much dreaded, as they had desired a free and impartial one. Thus both the emperor, and the protestants, acted quite contrary to their first proceedings. The latter rejected a council, after having earnestly requested one: and the emperor, after amusing the protestants many years, on that account, promoted with all his might, the meeting of a council; by whose authority he intended to crush the protestants. The pope would gladly have had no council; but finding he was too far engaged, with the emperor, to recede; he fixed the opening of it to the 15th of *March*, 1545. He afterwards put it off, because too few bishops had assembled on that day *.

Q. What were the pope's motives for doing this?

A. He was glad to wait the issue of the diet of *Worms*; hoping that vigorous resolutions would be therein taken, against the protestants; which would engage both parties in an open war; and furnish him with a pretence, either to defer the opening of the council, or to remove it to some town in *Italy*. But the emperor, who had now formed his plan, *viz.* of employing the council's authority

* *Rapin*, Vol. i. 843.

against the protestants ; caused the pope to order it to be opened at *Trent*, the 13th of *December*, 1545. On this day the legates meeting, in the cathedral, declared, that the council were assembled for three causes :—To extirpate heresy ; to reform discipline ; and to settle a lasting peace between the Christian princes. The protestants seeing a council opened, quite different from such an one as they had required, plainly perceived that no good could be expected from it : and their fears, on this occasion, were the greater, since, as the kings of *England* and *France* were then at war, they could not expect assistance from either *.

2. Did not the emperor, and the pope, form a league against the protestants of *Germany* ?

A. They had done this some time ; and had agreed upon all the articles ; but the emperor thought it prudent to defer the signing them ; in order to have an opportunity of declaring, that he did this merely in his own defence. At last, he sent, in *June*, the cardinal of *Trent* to *Rome* ; where the league was signed the 26th of the same month. The pope engaged to furnish, during six months, 12,500 horse, and 200,000 crowns, for the war in *Germany*. Farther, he gave the emperor a moiety of one year's revenue of the benefices in *Spain* ; with power to alienate, to the value of 100,000 crowns in churchlands. This plainly demonstrated, that the war in question was a religious one, though the emperor affected to publish the direct contrary. Both parties brought their forces into the field. I shall pass over the campaigns ; and only observe, that they ended unhappily for the protestants ; who, being at last unable to make any opposition ; the emperor took *Franchfort*, *Ulm*, and many other towns belonging to the league ; by which means he got the money necessary for the maintenance of his army. Whilst the war was carrying on in *Germany*, the council, in *Trent*, were very slow in their proceedings. There were but very few members, and these wholly dependant on the legates, who themselves did not dare to take the least step, without first receiving orders from *Rome*. But it was the pope's

* *Rapin*, Vol. i. p. 843.

interest to procrastinate matters: he thereby hoping that time would, at last, favour him with an opportunity, either to dissolve the council, or remove it to *Italy*. Thus the council was no more than an empty name, which the emperor and the pope made use of, merely to serve their own private ends; and to raise a mist before people's eyes*. In 1547, the pope ordered the council to be removed to *Bologna*, upon the feigned pretence, that the plague was in *Trent*†. In 1551, the state of the emperor's affairs was changed, in *Germany*, at a time when he least suspected it. *Maurice*, elector of *Saxony*, quartered his army in some popish territories, which he put under heavy contributions. The council being removed back to *Trent*, was opened again in *May* 1551: but a quarrel, between the pope and the king of *France*, interrupting the sessions, they were renewed in *September*: and though *Henry II.* protested against the council, the legates continued it; and decided many points which are foreign to our purpose‡. This council ended in 1563; after having been carried on, with some intermissions, from the year 1545. This was the last general council ever held. The pretence for calling it, was for a reformation in the church; but this was all a mask; the pope having no other view, than to establish the Romish doctrines, and to confirm his usurpations both over the clergy and the laity.

Q. In what light are we to consider *Luther*?

A. History does not furnish more surprizing actions, than those performed by him: for that a mere friar should have been able to strike popery so violent a blow, as that such another would have quite overturned the church of *Rome*, is what cannot be enough admired||. It is certain that he possessed many shining qualities; whence his enemies slandered him the more; they having propagated the most improbable falsities concerning him. Some were so bold as to declare, that he sprung from the embraces of his mother, with an incubus. An *Italian* author supposes, in a poem, that *Luther* sprang from *Megæra*, one of the furies; and that he was sent from hell into *Germany*.

* *Rapin*, Vol. i. page 845.

† *Idem*, page 24.

Vol. vii. page 260, 261.

‡ *Idem*, Vol. ii. page 11.

|| *General Dictionary*, historical and critical,

Others charge him with having confessed, that, after he had struggled ten years with his conscience; he, at last, had banished it from his mind, and was become an atheist. Others, that *Luther* used frequently to say, that he would give up his share of paradise, provided God would permit him to pass an hundred years, delightfully, in this world. Some were so impudent, as to assert, that he denied the immortality of the soul. They add, that he entertained low and carnal ideas, with regard to paradise: that he composed hymns in honour of drunkenness: that he had vented a thousand blasphemous expressions against the scriptures, and particularly against *Moses*. His enemies stop not here; but charge him, with declaring, that he did not believe a word of what he preached *.—But all these are infamous slanders, as was observed, raised by the papists, who detested him for the violent blow he had given to the papal see; and to the gross errors, and cruel practices of the church of *Rome*.

Q. Was not the reformation, brought about by *Luther*, a very surprizing event?

A. It is amazing, that he should have prevailed on so great a number of states and nations, in a very short space of time, to relinquish the errors of the church of *Rome*. *Wickliff*, *John Huss*, and several more, had made the like attempt, but without success. Some may observe, that the reason of this was, because circumstances did not conspire in their favour. They were (would such say) men of equal merit and abilities with *Luther*; but they tried to cure the distemper before it was come to it's crisis; and, as it were, at the increase of the moon. *Luther*, on the contrary, attempted a cure in a critical juncture, when the malady was arrived at it's height: when it could not grow worse; and that, according to the usual course of things, it must either cease or diminish; for when things are risen to their highest pitch, they usually begin to descend. He sowed during the full moon, at a juncture when the wane was going to begin. He had the same good luck as those medicines have, that are administered last; and which carry away all the glory of the cure; because they are

* General Dictionary, historical and critical, Vol. vii, p. 246, & seq.
given,

given, when the distemper has discharged it's whole malignity. We may add, that the competition between *Charles V.* and *Francis I.* was of fatal consequence on that occasion.—But to all this it may be answered, that *Luther* must have been endowed with many shining talents, to bring about so signal a revolution. It must be confessed, that several circumstances were favourable to him. Polite literature began to revive among the laity; at the same time that the clergy would not apply themselves to study, in order to enrich their minds, and to clear them from the rust of ignorance. It was very justly observed, that *Erasmus*, by his facetious and satyrical strokes, prepared the way for *Luther*. He was his *St. John Baptist*. A Romish doctor (*Simon Fontaine*) observes, (pleasantly enough, though writ in a serious view,) that *Erasmus* did more mischief, occasionally, than *Luther*: the latter having only opened the door wider, after *Erasmus* had picked the lock, and half opened it*. Some persons have been so weak, as to ascribe the revolution brought about, by *Luther*, to a certain position of the stars.

Q. Did not *Charles V.* behave very generously towards *Luther's* ashes?

A. The *Spaniards* being very urgent with him, to demolish *Luther's* monument; and to cause his bones to be dug up and burnt: the emperor prudently replied, I have no further dispute with *Luther*; and he, henceforward, will be subject to another judge, whose jurisdiction I must not usurp. Know that I make war, not against the dead, but against the living, who are still in arms against me†. Nothing could be more generous and heroic than these reflections. It is related that this happened, when the troops of that monarch were quartered in *Wirtemberg*, Anno 1557; at which time a soldier gave the effigies of *Martin Luther*, standing in the church of the castle, two stabs with his dagger. This offended the emperor so much, that he forbid the attempting to demolish the monument in question, upon pain of death‡.

* General Dictionary, historical and critical, Vol. vii, p. 260, 261.
 † *Idem*, p. 263. ‡ *Idem*, *ibid.*

Q. Did not the pope take many wrong steps, in opposing *Luther*?

A. We may reduce these to seven. 1st. His permitting a quarrel, between Mendicant friars, concerning alms collected, and on theses relating to indulgences, to be carried on in sermons, before the common people. 2dly. His opposing, to *Luther*, some Mendicant friars, who were no more than mere declaimers, and trumpets of slander. 3dly. His not silencing the preachers of both parties; and his not appointing, in their stead, learned, prudent and peaceable men, who would have instructed the people without the least contention; and have excited them to peace, and the love of the gospel. 4thly. Because neither party would make the least concession. 5thly. From the cruel behaviour of the Romanists, towards the *Lutherans*, at the solicitation of some Mendicant friars. 6thly. Because the bishops of *Germany*, most of whom were military men, did not do their duty. 7thly. Because no care was taken, to soften God's anger by public prayers, and by leading a life of true penitence*. However this be, it was very happy for a great part of the world, that the pope took these wrong steps; since, to the taking of them, we protestants owe the light, liberty and security, which our ancestors never enjoyed, under Romish tyranny; which tyranny all thinking men must wish to see extirpated from off the face of the earth.

Q. Where was *Calvin* born?

A. At *Noyon*, in *Picardy*, *July* 10, 1509. Being designed for the church, his friends soon procured him a benefice, in the cathedral of *Noyon*, and afterwards a rectory. But *Calvin*, being resolved to renounce all superstitious practices, quitted those preferments; and, agreeable to the desires of his father, studied the law, in which he made a great progress; as he did, at the same time, in polite literature, divinity, and the *Greek* language. He went to *Paris*, after his father's death, where he became acquainted with those who secretly favoured the reformation. A persecution breaking out in that city against

* General Dictionary, historical and critical, Vol. vii. p. 267, 268.

the protestants, *Calvin* was obliged to fly. He afterwards retired to *Basil*, and there studied the *Hebrew*. He next went into *Italy*, where he was kindly received by the dutchess of *Ferrara*, a lady of great piety. He then returned to *France*; and having settled his private affairs proposed to go to *Strasburg* or *Basil*; but Providence seemed to direct him to *Geneva*, where he settled; he being appointed a preacher, and professor of divinity there. The year following (1536) he made the whole people swear solemnly to a body of doctrines, which likewise contained a renunciation of popery. And as the reformation of the doctrinal part of religion, had not had much influence upon the morals of the people, which were greatly corrupted; nor banished the spirit of faction that divided the chief families of the commonwealth; *Calvin*, assisted by the other ministers, declared, that since all their admonitions and warnings had proved unsuccessful; they could not administer the holy sacrament, so long as these disorders continued. Upon this refusal, *Calvin*, with some other divines, was ordered to leave the city; whereupon he retired to *Strasburg*, and was most kindly received there. Here he established a *French* church, of which he was appointed the first pastor; and was also made a professor of divinity. *Calvin* afterwards assisted at the diets of *Worms* and *Ratisbon*. In 1541 he returned to *Geneva*, to the great satisfaction of the magistrates and people*.

Q. What did *Calvin* on this occasion?

A. He established a form of church discipline, and a consistorial jurisdiction; with the power of reproving, and inflicting all kinds of canonical punishment, so far as excommunication exclusive. This was greatly disliked by several persons; they saying, that the papal tyranny would soon be revived. However, the design was effected; and this new canon passed into a law, in an assembly of the whole people, held *November 20, 1541*: at which time both clergy and laity promised solemnly, to conform to it for ever. The inflexible strictness with which *Calvin* asserted, on all occasions, the rights of his consistory; drew upon him the hatred of a considerable number of

* General Dictionary, Vol. iv. p. 41, & seq.

people; and sometimes caused great tumults in the city. One would scarce believe, were there not the most indisputable proofs of it, that, amidst all these disturbances of the commonwealth, *Calvin* could find time to bestow so much care, as he did, on the foreign churches in *England*, *Germany*, *France* and *Poland*; and write so many books, and such a multitude of letters. He did more by his pen, than by his presence. He always led an active life; having generally his pen in hand, even when confined by sickness to his bed. He lived in uninterrupted labours, which his zeal for the general good of the churches had induced him to sustain, till the 27th of *May* 1564. He was a man on whom heaven had bestowed the most distinguished talents; he having a great genius, a sound judgment, and a happy memory. As a writer, he was judicious, eloquent, and indefatigable. He possessed a great compass of learning; and was fired with the warmest zeal for truth. A heavy charge was levelled against him, because he accused the popes and cardinals of ridiculing the Christian religion*.

Q. Have not many grave authors, of the first reputation, inveighed against the dissoluteness of the court of *Rome*?

A. Yes; and among others, the celebrated *Petrus Castellanus*, great almoner of *France*. The corruption of morals, which he saw in that court, scandalized him to such a degree; that even, many years afterwards, he could not speak of it, without shewing the utmost concern. He went so far as to believe, that, in *Rome*, religion was nothing but a mere raree-show; framed merely to impose upon mankind, and to keep up the papal authority. I remember, (says the author of *Castellanus's* life,) that sometimes when he described the leudness, the avarice, and extortions of the popes; the haughtiness of the cardinals, and their contempt for religion; the luxury, indolence, trade, simony, and other crimes of the courtiers of *Rome*; with the rest of the disorders observed by him in that city; he used to fly into such a passion, and would be fired with such strong indignation; that not only his

* General Dictionary, Vol. iv. p. 46, & seq.

face, but even the several motions, and the whole frame of his body were altered. He often used to tell me; that he was firmly persuaded the popes of *Rome*, and the prelates, (men guilty of the most heinous crimes,) did not truly, and from their hearts, believe in Christ: but that all their religious performances were nothing but pageantry artfully contrived to impose upon the world, and to keep up their authority *. *Erasmus* says †; these ears of mine have heard, in *Rome*, the most horrid blasphemies vented against Christ, and against his apostles, by persons who did this with impunity. Other people have been present on those occasions. I was there acquainted with several people, who declared that they themselves had heard some priests of the pope's palace utter the most horrid things, in the very mass; and with so loud a voice, that they were overheard by many.

Q. Did not *Calvin* show a great contempt for riches?

A. That a man, who had acquired so high a reputation, and such great authority, should yet have no more than an hundred crowns *per annum* salary, and refuse to accept of more: and that, after having lived, with the utmost frugality and temperance, till the age of about fifty-five; he should leave but three hundred crowns to his heirs, including his library, which sold very well: these things, I say, speak an heroic spirit which must strike all minds, except those of a groveling, insensible turn. This is one of the noblest victories that virtue and an exalted soul can gain over nature; even in a minister of the church of Christ. *Calvin* had imitators, with regard to his activity, his zeal and his love for those of the same opinion with himself: such employ their tongues, their pens, and their solicitations, for the establishment of God's kingdom: but they do not forget themselves; and are, to speak in general, a proof, that the church is a tender parent, in whose service no one is a loser. They verify *St. Paul's* assertion, that godliness *has promise of the life now, and of that which is to come*. In a word, heaven pours forth its blessings so abundantly, upon the diligence with which they apply to their domestic affairs; that we see them enjoy considerable pensions,

* *Gallend. in Vita Castell. p. 27.*

† *Epist. 34. Lib. 26.*

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and leave large estates to their heirs. In a word, a last will, such as that of *Calvin*; a like spirit of disinterestedness is a very rare thing; and may make those cry out, who turn their eye to the antient philosophers of *Greece*, *Non inveni tantam fidem in Israel*: (that is, I have not found so great faith, no not in *Israel*.) When he took leave of his friends at *Strasburg*, to go to *Geneva*; they would fain have continued him his freedom, as a citizen, and the income of his prebend: but he refused the income, and only accepted of the first offer. *Calvin* brought one of his brothers to *Geneva*, but had no thoughts of procuring him an honourable establishment, as others would have done, had they had as much interest as he*.

Q. Did not *Calvin* write a little work concerning relicks?

A. It was published, in *French*, *Anno* 1564, and writ by way of advice. He therein shows, that it would be of great advantage, to draw up an inventory of all the relicks, which are so highly valued by the papists, in *France*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and other countries. He also sets forth, not only the various abuses, and the idolatry to which they give rise; but likewise the glaring lives of the priests, who all pretend to have the same thing, in different churches, cities, and countries. *Calvin* has not specified all the relicks; but only quoted many instances, and of such things as cannot be denied. But he intended to have enlarged his book, could he have procured a particular account of such relicks, from the countries above mentioned, and which abound with them. And, indeed, he used sometimes to rebuke his friends, (but in a pleasant way,) for their not procuring him more ample accounts of such trumpery. However, little is to be expected (praised be God!) in that particular, from *France*; for the war† has furnished so many opportunities, of breaking down and destroying this sort of rubbish; that now, nothing more remains to be done, than for us to pray to God, that he would be pleased to take away whatever may still be left of them, either in *France*, or any other country: and that by a method less injurious to mankind‡.

* *Beza's* Life of *Calvin*.

† About *Anno* 1546.

‡ *Beza's* Preface to *Calvin's* Commentary on *Joshua*.

Q. Who was *Zuinglius*?

A. A canon of the church of *Zurich*, in *Switzerland*. In the year 1519, he began to oppose the church of *Rome*; declaring against the mass, images, the invocation of saints, &c. and made so great a number of disciples, that the mass was abolished in 1526, by the senate at *Zurich*, and two years after, at *Bern*. But the disputes between *Zuinglius* and *Calvin*, with regard to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, (the *Lutherans* holding consubstantiation; and the *Zuinglians* denying the elements to be any more than bare signs of the body and blood of Christ,) was a great hindrance to the progress of the reformation *. *Luther* and *Zuinglius* met, in order to reconcile, if possible, their doctrines: but to no purpose: the breach grew wider between them; and their respective disciples, from thenceforward, became mortal enemies one to another. *Calvin* added several new opinions to the doctrines preached by *Zuinglius*, such as predestination, free-will, &c. which made the two parties irreconcilable. It was observed, that *Calvin's* doctrines spread faster and farther than those of *Luther*; especially in *France*, *Scotland*, the *Netherlands*, and some other parts of *Germany*: while the kingdoms of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and other parts of *Germany*, adhered to *Luther's* doctrine. It is said, that the *Lutherans*, to show their insuperable aversion to the *Calvinists*, have hung up, in one frame, in the great church at *Leipsick*, the pictures of the devil, *Ignatius Loyola*, and *John Calvin*; with the following inscription; *The three great enemies of Christ, and of the Christian religion*.—Should any one think that there is wit in the above picture, it cannot be said that there is piety: and all such satyrs are abhorrent from the true spirit of religion.—It is said that the *Calvinists* are equally lavish of reproachful and reviling expressions. It is computed, that the *Calvinists* get ground of the *Lutherans* in *Germany*; they being supported by the court of *Prussia*, which is attached to *Calvin*; and the states general, though they tolerate all religions, encourage *Calvinism* only.

Q. Did not the anabaptists occasion a violent tumult in the city of *Munster*?

* *Sleidan*, p. 129, 130.

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A. In November 1533, some anabaptists having retired to that city, were received by the inhabitants, without the privity of the magistrates. The reason of their settling here was, because the reformation had been introduced into it, of which *Bernard Rotman* was the chief author; though he afterwards joined with the anabaptists of *Munster*. The last mentioned growing very contemptible, upon their having refused to hold a conference with some *Hessian* divines, were resolved to take other measures. Hereupon, one of these anabaptists ran about the streets, as though he had been inspired, crying out; "Repent, and be baptized, that the anger of God may not fall upon you!" The mob assembling, all who had received a second baptism, ran also into the streets, and made the same outcry. Many people joined the anabaptists, out of mere simplicity; dreading the anger of heaven, with which they were threatened; and others, because they were afraid of being plundered. In two months, the anabaptists were increased to some thousands; and the magistrates, having issued a proclamation against them, they took up arms, and possessed themselves of the market-place; whilst the citizens posted themselves in another quarter of the town. They faced one another during three days; and at last, it was agreed that each party should lay down their arms; should live in peace, and tolerate each other, notwithstanding their different opinions in religious matters. But the anabaptists, fearing an attack in the night, whilst unarmed; sent letters, privately, to their adherents. Those letters imported, that a prophet, sent from God, was arrived at *Munster*; that he foretold wonderful events; and taught men how they might obtain salvation. The anabaptists added, that if their friends came and joined them, they should be in want of nothing; should be well rewarded for their losses; and that the best thing they could do, would be, to leave their wives and children, and repair forthwith to *Munster* *.

Q. What happened thereupon?

* *Gerard Brandt's History of the Reformation, &c. Vol. i. p. 41, 42. See also Joan Sleidani Commentar. p. 248, & seq. Francofurti, 1610. 8vo.*

A. By this means, they were re-inforced by such great numbers; especially of those who had nothing to lose; that they soon found themselves stronger than the inhabitants of the town. They then raised another tumult, crying aloud in the streets: "Get ye gone, (wicked men!) if ye will escape entire destruction: for all who refuse to be re-baptized, shall be killed." The clergy and citizens left the town; upon which the anabaptists took possession of it. This happened about *Lent*, 1534: *John Matthison*, a baker of *Haerlem*, and *John Bolken-son* * of *Leyden*, were the chief authors of this tumult: to whom were associated *Bernard Knipperdoling*, *Bernard Rotman*, *Jacob Van Kampen*, and *John Van Geelen*. The anabaptists plundered the churches, and the houses of those who had abandoned the town; and burnt all kinds of books, the *Bible* excepted. Not long after, the town was besieged by the bishop. *John Matthison*, the pretended *Enoch*, or second witness, was killed in a sally. *John Bolken-son* ran stark naked through the streets, pretending to be moved by the spirit of God; and he appointed twelve judges, to govern the new tribes of *Israel*. He declared, at the same time, that it was lawful for a man to have more than one wife; and immediately he himself married three. Some of his followers being convinced that he was an impostor, formed a conspiracy against him; which being discovered, fifty-one persons were massacred by *Knipperdoling*, who served as his executioner. The anabaptists ravished all the maidens above fourteen years old. *Bolken-son* assumed the title of king of *Sion*; and sent forth above twenty apostles, most of whom were apprehended, and sentenced to die. The anabaptists published, during the siege, a book entitled, *The Work of the Restoration*; in which they affirmed, that Christ would set up a kingdom, where the elect should reign, and all the wicked be destroyed. Polygamy was approved. The mock king of *Sion* married ten young maidens, besides *Matthison's* widow, whom he proclaimed as his queen; and ordered a crown of gold to be put upon her head †. O most horrid

* Said to be a taylor, and commonly called, John of Leyden. See *Sleidani Commentar.* p. 250. † *Gerard Brandt*, Vol. i. p. 42, 43.

abuse of religion!—The same year the anabaptists committed great outrages in *Holland*, whither *Bolkenson* sent his disciples *.

Q. How did these troubles end?

A. *Bolkenson*, being still possessed of his imaginary throne of *Munster*, fancied that God had given him the three towns of *Amsterdam*, *Deventer* and *Wesel*; upon which he sent *Jacob Van Kampen* to *Amsterdam*; and appointed him bishop of that city. There the anabaptists raised a great insurrection, as also in some other places in *Holland*, but were afterwards crushed, and many put to death; and among the rest *Bolkenson's* bishop. The pretended king of *Munster* having advice of these things, was quite disheartened. *Munster* was afterwards taken by its true bishop, May 28, 1535, by the assistance of an anabaptist, who went over to the besiegers. The king was apprehended, and January 23, of the succeeding year, his flesh was torn off with red hot pincers for the space of an hour; after which his heart was run through with a dagger †.—It is evident that the above anabaptists were abominable, mad wretches: but we must not confound them with those of the present age, who, (to speak in general,) are peaceable men, loyal subjects, lovers of virtue, and enemies to enthusiasm ‡.

Q. How are the protestants of *Hungary* treated?

A. They live entirely at the mercy of the emperor; and have nothing to depend on but the intercession of the princes, of their communion, to him, in their favour; he using them with greater severity than the grand signor. For so great is the cruelty of the Roman catholics, wherever they govern, that they will not permit Christians, of any other persuasion, to live among them; whereas the grand signor allows liberty of conscience to all; he requiring no more, from such of his subjects as are not of the established religion, than a trifling tax, which is scarce felt. There have been several insurrections in *Transilvania*, where are many protestants; owing chiefly to the great severities exercised by the papists on them.

* Gerard Brandt, Vol. i. p. 42, 43.
49, 50.

† This is Gerard Brandt's observation.

‡ Idem, p. 44.

In 1669, the emperor trampled so grievously on the rights, both civil and religious, of the *Hungarians*, that they made an offer, of their country, to the grand signor; in order to obtain his protection, against his Imperial majesty. But the *Turks* being then taken up with the siege of *Candia*, neglected the proposal; so that the *Hungarians* were left to defend themselves, so well as they could, against their enraged sovereign. And, indeed, they were grown so formidable, that the emperor thought it necessary to send, in 1671, the duke of *Lorrain* against them, at the head of a powerful army, who made a great havock of the protestants, and took some of their chiefs prisoners, who were beheaded. Afterwards the emperor, in order to root out at once, from *Hungary*, the protestant religion; appointed over them, as governors and judges, the most bigotted papists, who exercised all kinds of cruelty on the miserable inhabitants. This forced many of them to fly into the dominions of the grand signor, and again implore his assistance. However, the emperor, being soon made sensible of the pernicious consequences of such severities, commanded his ministers to act with greater moderation.

Q. Were there not, some years since, great disturbances in the *Palatinate*, on account of religion?

A. This arose from the following cause. The great church of the Holy Ghost at *Heidelberg*, had, for many years, been shared by both *Calvinists* and Roman catholics; the latter celebrating mass in the choir; and the former performing divine service in the nave or body of the church. But the elector alledging, that as this city was the place of his residence, divine service ought to be performed in the principal church, according to the rites of that religion only, of which he was a member; forbid the protestants to administer divine service in the above-said church; and actually put the papists in possession of the whole. Hereupon the *Calvinists* applied for redress to the protestant powers; which exasperated the elector to such a degree, that he suppressed the *Heidelberg* catechism. The protestant powers then agreed, unanimously, to demand satisfaction for this infringement of the treaty of *Westphalia*, which established the reformed religion in those places where it was professed: and the courts of

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Great-Britain, Prussia, Holland, &c. sent ministers, to the *Palatine* court, to represent the injustice of those proceedings. Many disputes were held, between the ministers of the foreign powers above mentioned, and those of the elector; during which an accident happened, that alarmed the protestants afresh. The coach of the *Dutch* minister, standing before the door of the resident of *Hesse*, as the host was carrying along to a sick person; the guards, who attended the host, forced the coachman to come down and kneel: and at the same time, military executions were ordered against all shoe-makers, who should refuse to contribute to the masses of *St. Crispin*; besides which the protestants were forbid working on popish holidays, even in harvest time, under great penalties; and some ministers were turned out of their churches, upon pretence of their having been founded, and built by Roman catholicks.

Q. What more grievances were mentioned?

A. A multitude of others, the detail of which would be tedious. I shall only observe, that notwithstanding almost all the inhabitants of the *Palatinate* are protestants; and endeavour to bring up their children in the liberal arts and sciences, in order to qualify them for employments: and, by the edict of *Hall*, are assured that they shall not be excluded from preferment, on account of their religion: nevertheless, the most inconsiderable places are refused them, till they turn Roman catholicks; or when marrying wives of that religion, they promise to bring up their children in the popish faith.—On this ill usage of those of the reformed religion in the *Palatinate*, the protestant powers threatened to treat their Roman catholick subjects with the like severity: upon which the elector, at last, left the body of the church of the Holy Ghost to the protestants, and restored the *Heidelberg* catechism: declaring likewise that no person should be molested, in the streets, for not kneeling where the host past by. But then the elector, to shew his resentment against the *Heidelbergers*, who had, in some measure, extorted those concessions from him, declared his intention of abandoning that city, and of removing to *Manheim*, with all the courts of justice. Accordingly he laid the foundation of a new palace there, which is since finished, and become the place of his usual

residence; which has greatly impoverished the city of *Heidelberg*. Such are the vindictive effects of popery, which it is evident would have been far more violent, had this been in the power of the elector. However, even these severities forced a multitude of the *Palatines* to leave their native country; and many of them came into *England*, in the late queen *Anne's* time, and met with a most indulgent reception.

Q. When were the *Salzburgers* forced from their native country?


A. In 1732. Above 30,000 of them were, contrary to the treaty of *Westphalia*, forcibly driven from their native country, in the depth of winter; without clothes to cover them, or provisions for their journey: they not being permitted to carry away their effects. Yet, with undaunted christian courage, did these miserable emigrants quit their native country, and their all, to seek for a shelter, which they happily found among protestant strangers. To this they submitted with the utmost chearfulness, rather than be debarred the free exercise of their religion; or yield to papal superstition and idolatry. As they looked for a city which hath foundations, whose maker and builder is God: so they now sojourn, with alacrity, in strange countries*. The violent persecution, at *Thorn*, will never be forgot.—Heaven preserve this island from popery, and it's attendant horrors!

* Account of the sufferings of the persecuted Protestants, in the Archbishoprick of *Salzburg*. London, 1733.





HISTORY
OF THE
ROMISH PERSECUTIONS
IN THE
NETHERLANDS,
WITH THE
REFORMATION;
AND THE
Establishment of the *United Provinces.*

2.  O what was owing the rise of the States-General, or the *United Provinces* ?
A. To tyranny and oppression. These provinces, (seven in number) had formed one country, as it were, with the other ten provinces ; all which were called the *Netherlands* or *Low-Countries*, from their situation. These seventeen provinces, after being subject, like other sublunary things, to
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a variety of changes, came, at last, to be governed by the dukes of *Burgundy*; (the *Netherlands* being then considered as part of that dukedom;) and afterwards by the kings of *Spain*; by which means they descended to the renowned emperor *Charles V.* The above monarch, born in the *Low-Countries*, was of a gentle and generous disposition; and naturally kind to his countrymen, whose language and customs he always used when residing among them. He also had raised all their great men to the employments of his court, his government, and his armies, throughout the several parts of his wide-extended dominions; a circumstance which naturally endeared him still more to this people; so that upon his resigning the crown, and bequeathing to his son *Philip II.* king of *Spain*, the seventeen provinces; the latter prince found this part of his subjects very peaceable and loyal.

Q. When did *Philip II.* ascend the throne?

A. In 1555. Having carried on war, against *France*, with various success, a peace was at last concluded at *Cambray*. The king then resolved to return to *Spain*; and leave, to another person, the government of the *Netherlands*, which, till the reign of *Charles V.* his father, had always been the constant seat of their princes; and thus had shared the presence of that great emperor with the rest of his dominions. But *Philip II.* who was a *Spaniard*, retaining, either from the climate or education of that country, the gravity and severity of the people, which the *Flemings* termed reservedness or pride; bestowing the employments of his household on the *Spaniards*; honouring them with his confidence; and introducing their customs, habits, and language into the court of *Flanders*: add to this, his keeping up, after a peace was concluded, the *Spanish* and *Italian* forces, which had been sent for into the *Netherlands*, to protect them against the *French*; and still demanding supplies from the States, which the war, indeed, had before made necessary; for these several reasons *Philip* grew no longer to be loved, but began to be feared, by the inhabitants of those provinces.

Q. Did he pay any regard to the discontent of the *Flemings*?

A. Being

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A. Being at the head of such mighty dominions, and meditating a still greater empire, he did not think it consistent with the pomp and grandeur of the house of *Austria*, to regard the grievances of so small a country; nor to be restrained by its antient form of government. He therefore, at his setting out for *Spain*, and leaving his natural sister, the dutchess of *Parma*, governess of the *Netherlands*, (assisted by *Granvelle*, or *Granville*, a *Burgundian* of mean birth, but of great parts; and who rose to the purple;) bid her continue the foreign troops, and demand money from the States, for their maintenance. He also ordered her to establish the fourteen bishopricks, which he had agreed, with the Roman pontiffs, to add to the three that had been antiently in the *Low-Countries*: also to revive the edicts of *Charles V.* against *Luther*; and by this means to make way for the bloody inquisition, as received in *Spain*. The execution of these several orders, sowed the first seeds of discontent in the minds of the *Flemings*. The hatred which they bore to the *Spaniards*; the intolerance of those troops; with the charge of their maintenance; made the inhabitants, in general, to consider them as the instruments of their slavery and oppression; and not as their defenders; they not needing any, as they then enjoyed a general peace. It was on this article, therefore, that the States began their complaints, with the general consent of all the nobles, both of town and country. But finding no redress, the States first refused to raise any more monies, either to pay the *Spaniards*, or their own standing forces. The people were, by this time, plunged in such deep despair, that those of *Zealand* gave over working at their dikes, and let the sea gain every tide upon the country; declaring that they chose to be devoured by that element, rather than by the *Spanish* soldiers: so that, after many disputes and intrigues, between the governess and the provinces, *Philip II.* upon her remonstrance, consented to the removal of those forces; a circumstance which gave the highest joy to the inhabitants in general.

2. To what was the next contest owing?

A. To the erecting of fourteen new bishopricks: the great lords thought this innovation would lessen their power.

power, since so many fresh members would thereby be introduced into the great council. Many of the principal nobles were extremely disgusted, to see the *Spaniards* preferred to the most lucrative employments, and influencing all their counsels. The abbots, out of whose lands those bishopricks were to be endowed, declared this to be a violent usurpation upon the rights of the church ; as also on the will of the dead, who had bequeathed the lands in question to a particular use. The common people murmured at it, as a new engine of oppression on their consciences or liberty, by the setting up so many new spiritual courts of judicature ; and the addition of seventeen judges, who were altogether dependant on the pope or the king. All men inveighed against this as a violation of his majesty's oath at his accession ; he swearing to preserve the church and the laws in the same state he found them. However, the governess carried her point, but not without causing an universal discontent. During this interval, a vast multitude of protestants, who had been drove by persecution out of *England, France, and Germany*, fled into the *Netherlands*, as likewise a great number of divines. The admiration at their zeal, the high idea entertained of their doctrine and piety ; compassion for their sufferings ; the relation of their discontents, or the humour of the times : all these united, gained them, daily, many proselytes in the *Low-Countries* ; some among the nobles ; many in the villages, but most in the cities, whose trade and riches were greatly increased by those new inhabitants, who had brought their possessions with them.

2. What followed hereupon ?

A. Now was projected the inquisition, the bare mention of which created the utmost horror in the minds of the *Flemings* ; they being told, that their lives, fortunes, and reputations would be put into the hands of merciless priests, who gloried in the rigour and inhumanity of their prosecutions ; and who might punish any man, merely on suspicion, without producing an accuser, or acquainting him with the charge brought against him. A great change of religion had happened about this time ; many of the *Flemings* having left the Romish communion ; some pro-

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fessing the *Lutheran* doctrine, others that of *Calvin*, a third were anabaptists, &c. The *Flemings* were the more terrified at this tribunal, because, in this court, neither their privileges, the indulgences of the king, nor the intercession of the grandees, could avail them in any manner; and they were conscious that they had taken great, though just, liberty with their tongues, and thereby were become abnoxious to their enemies. However, the power of the inquisition was mitigated by the prudence and temper of the governess; at the same time that *Granville* acted with extreme rigour. The lords of the provinces showed a spirit of lenity on this occasion, they protecting the people against the new and arbitrary attempts of the inquisition; a court of judicature unknown to all the antient laws and customs of the country; for, till it's introduction, the bishops had had the sole superintendency in religious matters; and, prior to them, the civil magistrates. Angry debates arising in council, owing chiefly to cardinal *Granville*; the principal lords of that assembly, (among whom were the prince of *Orange*, counts *Egmont* and *Horn*, the marquis of *Bergben*, and *Montigny*) entertained a most violent hatred against the cardinal, which spread through all ranks of people; so that those lords first refused to come to council, declaring; that they could not bear the sight of a man who reigned absolute there, and was the ruin of their country. They afterwards petitioned *Philip II*, in the name of all the inhabitants, to remove him; but this not being done, and the inquisition still carried on; the people were heated to so violent a degree, as seemed to threaten a general combustion in the whole body politick, whenever the smallest spark should break forth in any part of it. However, the cardinal, upon repeated complaints, was at last removed, upon which the lords returned to council. Count *Egmont* being sent into *Spain*, to represent the grievances of the provinces; and the king softening the severities of the inquisition; all tumult and discontent ceased; the lords were employed by the governess in the council, and in the administration of affairs; and they both obeyed and honoured her.

Q. Did any thing remarkable happen in 1567?

A. A conference was held at *Bayonne*, between *Catherine* queen-mother of *France*, her son *Charles IX*, (then very young,) and his sister *Isabella*, queen of *Spain*. To this conference no other person was admitted, except duke *d'Alva*, he being sent thither by *Philip II*, who sent an apology for his not coming himself; which made this interview to be considered, as the mere effect of kindness between the mother and her children. Whether it be that mighty resolutions are suspected, where great secrecy is observed; or what the prince of *Orange* affirmed to be true, was really so, viz. that the *French* and *Spanish* monarchs agreed to extirpate the protestant religion in their respective dominions, and assist each other for that horrid purpose; it is certain, that this conference turned upon the subject of religion; that soon after, the governers received letters from king *Philip*, commanding that all hereticks should be put to death; that the emperor's edicts or proclamations, and the council of *Trent*, should be published; and that the civil powers should give all possible aid to the inquisition. These things threw the people into the utmost consternation; and this was soon succeeded by rage; which appeared in their faces, their words, their meetings, and in their libels; and was greatly heightened by the sight of so many horrid executions, upon a religious account. The patience of the sufferers, and the compassion of the spectators, lessened the opinion of their guilt; and increased the people's abhorrence for the punishment, as well as a thirst of revenge, against the authors and advisers of those cruel proceedings, of whom duke *d'Alva* was supposed to be the chief.

Q. When did the people rebel openly?

A. In 1566, at which period the citizens, in many towns, put a stop to executions, and broke open prisons. Next ensued a confederacy of the lords, never to permit the inquisition in the *Netherlands*; as being contrary to all laws, divine and human, and exceeding the barbarities practised in former ages. The lords of the confederacy protested, at the same time, that they had no other view than the glory of God; the grandeur of the king, and the welfare

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welfare of the people. This firmness of theirs began to intimidate the government. Farther, a lord named *Brederode*, relying on the favour of the people, went, at the head of two hundred gentlemen, through all the provinces quite up to *Brussels*; and there boldly petitioned the governers to abolish the inquisition, together with the several edicts concerning religion, and demanded new ones. The governers was obliged to receive their petition without showing the least resentment; when making a representation thereof to the king, he was startled to find such obstructions to his last commands, and therefore resolved to annul them. But his answer, (owing possibly to the usual dilatoriness of the *Spanish* court,) came too late; and as all his former concessions had lost their good grace; so this proved of no effect, and arrived in the *Netherlands* at a time when they were all in a flame; the populace, who were still more exasperated by several pamphlets which were writ, rose in many great towns of *Flanders*, *Holland*, and *Utrecht*; after which they fell to plundering churches, and breaking down images, with a thousand indications of barbarous and brutal fury. Although the prince of *Orange*, and count *Egmont*, did their utmost to appease these commotions, king *Philip* could never be persuaded but that they were the secret fomentors of them; so that, finding themselves suspected, they held various consultations for their own safety; not long after which the prince of *Orange* retired to *Germany*. All these things, together with the establishment of consistories and magistrates, in every town where the protestant religion was professed; the public confederacies and distinctions; as also the private contributions raised for the common cause, proved the first æra of the revolt of the *Low-Countries*, Anno 1566.

2. How did the nobles and the rich act on this occasion?

A. These, though unsatisfied with the government, yet feeling the sad effects, and detesting the rage of popular tumults, as the worst evil that can befall a state; and animated by the arrival of king *Philip's* concessions, began to unite their councils and forces with those of the governers; when they endeavoured, with the most loyal vigour, to suppress.

suppress the commotions, which shook the cities in most of the provinces. The prince of *Orange*, and count *Egmont*, (the former being governor of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and the latter of *Flanders*,) were powerful instruments upon this occasion; they being greatly beloved, and confided in, by the people. Afterwards, the government reducing some cities by force of arms; and others submitting; count *Egmont* withdrawing from the counsels of the confederate lords; the prince of *Orange* retiring to *Germany*, (as was observed;) *Broderode* dying; and king *Philip's* sudden preparation for a journey into the *Netherlands*; all these things joined to the governess's prudence and moderation, restored peace, obedience, and tranquillity. However, the king did not visit the *Low-Countries*, but ordered duke *d'Alva*, (wholly against the advice of the dutchess,) to march thither, at the head of ten thousand veteran *Italian* and *Spanish* troops, the flower of the army, and commanded by the ablest officers under *Charles V.* or *Philip II.* These were to assist the governess, in putting the laws in execution, and in punishing all the fomentors of the late sedition. Arriving towards the close of the year 1567, they were re-inforced by two thousand *Germans*, whom the governess had raised in the last commotions; and the whole being commanded by so old and experienced a general as duke *d'Alva*, formed such a force as greatly terrified the inhabitants of the *Netherlands*. Immediately upon his arrival, he took counts *Egmont* and *Horn* into custody, and charged them with being the authors of the troubles; declaring, that all who had joined in the late association, and the pulling down images, were guilty of high-treason.

Q. What happened upon the first rumour of the above-mentioned expedition?

A. The trading people, both in town and country, retired in such vast numbers out of the provinces; that in a few days above an hundred thousand were withdrawn; they carrying off their money and effects; and more were going off daily; so violent is the antipathy between the merchant and the soldier; the former claiming security under the laws; and the latter pretending that these shall all be subject to his sword. But now the governess, upon
duke

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duke *d'Alva*'s first action after his arrival, (the seizing of count *d'Egmont*;) not to mention the suspected death of marquis de *Berghen*, and *Montigny*'s imprisonment in *Spain*; immediately desired leave of his majesty to withdraw out of the *Netherlands*, which was easily obtained. Upon her departure, duke *d'Alva* was appointed governor; and invested with such powers as had never before been granted to any. A council of twelve, (called by the people *The Council of Blood*;) was established, for the trial of all crimes committed against the king's authority. Great numbers were condemned and executed by the sentences of this council, on account of the late insurrection; but more by those of the inquisition; contrary to the parting advice of the duchess, and the exclamations of the people against those illegal courts. The cities and towns were exasperated at the violation of their charters; the people at that of their liberties; and the knights of the Golden Fleece at the infringement of the charters of their order, by these new and odious courts of judicature. All complained, but in vain, at the laying aside of the states, and the bringing in armies. The king was inflexible; *d'Alva* was naturally cruel; the new army fierce, brave, and wishing that a rebellion might break out in the country; the people were enraged, but awed and without a head: all was now seizure and process, confiscation and imprisonment, blood and horror. The smaller branches of disaffection were lopping apace; but the great ones were longer in hewing down. Counts *Egmont* and *Horn* lasted several months; but at last, spite of their signal service to the king and his father; of their late merit in quieting the provinces; and of the very strong intercessions made for them, they were publickly beheaded in *Brussels*, at which the people lost all patience. This catastrophe gave rise to the commotions which involved *Europe* in so much blood, and lost *Spain* a great part of the *Netherlands*.

2. What happened afterwards?

A. The prince of *Orange* being retired into *Germany*, as has been hinted, was summoned to appear and take his trial, for the like crimes with which the others had been charged; and upon his refusing to appear, was condemned; proclaimed a traitor; and his whole estate, which

which was very great, confiscated to his majesty's use. The prince thereupon applied, for redress, to those princes who were engaged to him, either by alliance, or by their common fears of the overgrown power of the house of *Austria*. He now threw off all obedience to duke *d'Alva*; raised troops; and joined with multitudes who flocked to him out of the provinces: all of them exasperated at duke *d'Alva*'s despotic and bloody government; and determined to revenge count *Egmont*'s death, he having ever been the darling of the people. With these forces the prince enters *Friesland*; invades the skirts of *Brabant*, and receives succours from the *French* protestants, then in arms under the prince of *Condé*: but after various enterprizes, being prevented, by the dextrous conduct of duke *d'Alva*, and the bravery of his veterans, from seizing upon any town in *Brabant*; he, at last, was forced to disband his army, and to retire into *Germany*. Immediately duke *d'Alva* returned in triumph to *Brussels*, and there ordered a statue (of himself) to be cast out of the brass cannon taken from *Lewis* of *Nassau*; trampling upon, and insulting two lesser statues, representing the two estates of the *Netherlands*. These he set up in the citadel built by him in *Antwerp*, in order to wholly subdue that rich, populous, tumultuous city. This statue excited the highest indignation in the people, who were but too sensible, that their antient liberties and privileges, were now subject to the arbitrary will, and cruel sword of a man who had ever been considered as the most bitter enemy to their country.—The *Dutch* being oppressed with taxes, the court of *Holland* ordered processions to be made in all the towns. The people were exhorted to repentance, and God was publicly entreated; “to mollify the cruel heart of duke *d'Alva*, that he might hearken to reason and justice: he trampling under foot the rights and privileges, of their country; and regarding nothing but the king's orders, which he executed with the utmost severity *.”

Q. Did duke *d'Alva* continue his cruelties?

A. He was not at all affected with rumours, nor terrified by the menaces of a broken hearted, unarmed peo-

* Gerard Brandt's Abridgment of the Reformation, Vol. i. p. 138.

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ple ; but thinking it needless to observe any measures with them, he demanded greater pay and reward for his victorious troops than the states, at the king's request, used to grant annually : and therefore required a general tax to be laid, at once, of the hundredth part of all estates in the *Netherlands* ; and, for the future, the twentieth of all immoveables, and the tenth of all things sold. The states agreed, though with great reluctance, to the first ; but refused the other two, on account of the poverty of the provinces, and the ruin of trade. They then addressed the king of *Spain*, but to no purpose. The year was spent in contests ; the states sometimes behaving with haughtiness, and at other times with humility, towards the governor ; till the duke, impatient of their delay, caused the edict to be published in *Brussels*, without their consent. But now the people refusing to pay, the soldiers began to levy by force ; all the burghers, or towns people shut up their shops ; the peasants came no longer to market ; so that neither bread nor meat could be bought in the town. This firing the duke, he called the soldiers to arms ; when he ordered several of the inhabitants, who refused payment, to be hanged that very night upon their sign posts ; which severe examples could not quiet the people. But now, whilst the officers were preparing the executions, news came of the taking of the *Brill* by the *Guises*, or beggars, as they were termed ; and of a revolt suddenly expected in the province of *Holland*.

Q. Was not duke *d'Alva* moved at this ?

A. Greatly indeed.—He now foresaw the evil consequences thereof. As the stubble was dry, and fire was fallen on it ; he imagined that it would be injudicious in him, should he carry on the cruel tragedy in *Brabant*, whilst a new sad scene was opening in *Holland*. For this reason, giving over, for the present, the affair of the taxes and executions, he devoted his whole thoughts how best to stop the enemy who broke in upon him from the sea ; whence the drift of the design, as well as the nature of the armament, were less known to him, and so the more suspected. Upon this loss of the *Brill* began the second great commotion of the *Netherlands*, in 1570 ; and it did
not

not end but in the loss of those provinces, out of which was framed a new commonwealth.

2. Give some account of those by whom the *Brill* was taken.

A. Upon *Broderode's* delivering a petition to the governors against the inquisition, &c. as was observed; the persons who attended him being meanly clad, were termed, by one of the courtiers, as they entered the palace, *Guises*, or beggars; a name, though given by accident, or out of derision, was yet affected by the party as expressive of humility and distress; and ever used by both sides, to denote all persons who dissented from the church of *Rome*. Vast numbers of these men, being spread over all parts of the provinces, by the calamities above mentioned; after their first sedition was quelled, remained broken in their common counsels; and, by the cruelty of the inquisition, and the severity of duke *d'Alva*, were forced to quit the provinces; at least such of them as had hopes or means of subsisting abroad. Many of the poorer sort fled to the woods, (which were very thick,) in the upper countries, where they subsisted upon rapine: and, during the first descent of the prince of *Orange*, with his troops, very much annoyed the scattered parties under duke *d'Alva*, in their march that way. But after that the first mentioned prince had been forced back into *Germany*; count de *Marck*, an implacable enemy to duke *d'Alva*, joining with many of the broken troops, who had been left in *Friesland*, manned some small ships, and went to sea; and seized, under the prince of *Orange's* commission, upon all the *Spanish* ships which he met with. The above *Dutch* privateers (as they may be called) sometimes took shelter, and sold their prizes in some little creek in *England*, &c. though forbid by queen *Elizabeth*, then at peace with *Spain*; till at last, having acquired considerable fortunes by this means, they, whether by accident or design, landed in the island of the *Brill*; stormed that town; pulled down the images in the churches; professed their religion openly; inveighed against the taxes and tyranny of the *Spanish* government; and were instantly followed by the revolt of most of the towns in *Holland*, *Zealand*, and

and *West-Friesland*, which disclaimed all allegiance to the king of *Spain*, and swore fidelity to the prince of *Orange*. It is judged, that one of the greatest errors in duke *d'Alva's* conduct, was his not providing any security during his four years regency, for the sea-coasts. The revolted towns having chosen the prince of *Orange* for their general; and sworn allegiance to him as the king's stadtholder, were joined with many privateers from *England* and *France*; so that, in four months, they grew to be a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, which rendezvoused at *Flushing* in *Zealand*; and distressed the *Spaniards* more than all the forces of the male-contents by land.

Q. What followed after this?

A. The prince being returned from *Germany* with new troops; and taking advantage of the fury of the populace; was not satisfied with *Holland* and *Zealand*, but marched up within five leagues of *Brussels*. He now seized upon *Mechlin*, with such high acclamations of the people, (numberless multitudes of whom flocked to him) that the *Spanish* government seemed expiring in the *Netherlands*, had it not been called back to life by the massacre of the protestants in *Paris*; which horrid catastrophe, contrived by joint counsels with king *Philip*, and perpetrated by a *Spanish* party in the *French* court, animated duke *d'Alva*, and discouraged the prince of *Orange* in proportion. By this means, the former recovered strength enough to defend the heart of the provinces; and the latter withdrew to *Holland*, which he made the seat of the war. This country is strong by nature, it being seated in, and surrounded by the waters; but was more so by it's then rough inhabitants, who, unsoftened by commerce or wealth; were little used to grants of money and taxes; but elated with their antient renown, recorded by the *Roman* historians, of being obstinate defenders of their liberties, and hating implacably the *Spanish* name.

Q. In what manner was this hatred inflamed still more?

A. By the cruel administration of duke *d'Alva*, or that of his sons; by the butchery of a great numbers of innocent persons of both sexes, upon the taking of *Naerden*, the houses of which town were fired, and the walls razed; and by the desperate defence made at *Haerlem*, during ten

months, with all the practices and returns of scorn, ignominy, and barbarity on both sides ; the very women enlisting themselves in companies, repairing breaches, giving the alarm, and beating up quarters ; till all being starved out, four hundred burghers were killed in cold blood, after the surrender ; besides many other examples of cruelty. *Gerard Brandt* * speaks of the siege of *Haerlem* as follows. The inhabitants defended themselves with wonderful bravery. Cruelties were exercised on both sides. The *Spaniards* hanged some burghers and soldiers they had taken prisoners : and the besieged set up a gibbet upon the ramparts ; where they hanged several persons, in sight of the enemy, by way of reprisal. At last, that unfortunate town was forced to surrender at discretion, *July 13, 1573* ; after having sustained a siege, during seven months, and struggled with a dreadful famine. The *Spaniards* satiated their rage upon the soldiers and burghers, and massacred many hundreds of them. They killed such as were disposed to confess their sins ; and hanged all those who refused to go to the confessional. About three hundred persons were tied two and two, and thrown into the lake. A *Lutheran* minister was hanged ; the minister of the town, the governor, his lieutenant, and some other persons of note, were beheaded. But the *Spaniards* paid dear for this conquest ; they losing about twelve thousand men, who were killed, starved, or died of sickness. Many of the wounded soldiers, being carried to the hospital, in *Amsterdam*, cried as they were expiring : *O Naerden ! O Naerden !* their consciences upbraiding them with the horrid massacre of that ill-fated city.—It is said, duke *d'Alva* used to boast, that, besides those who fell, during his administration, by the sword ; he had executed eighteen thousand *Flemings* ?

Q. What did the people after this ?

A. It only inflamed them still more, and made their hatred to *Spain* and duke *d'Alva* incurable. The army we are speaking of, broken, and forced to rise from before *Alcmaer*, after a long and fierce siege in duke *d'Alva's* time ; and from before *Leyden* under *Lewis Requesnes*,

* *Gerard Brandt's* Abridgment, Vol. i. p. 153, 154.

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d'Alva's successor, (the boors opening the sluices, and drowning the country, they being resolved to annoy the *Spaniards*, though at their own ruin;) this army, I say, gave the great turn to affairs in *Holland*.

Q. Did not the king of *Spain* wake out of his lethargy?

A. He now was duly sensible of the danger, and afraid of losing all the seventeen provinces. *D'Alva* grew tired of his government, finding that his barbarous proceedings had raised a spirit, which, being quiet before his arrival in *Flanders*, could not now be laid. Hereupon he was recalled, and the war carried on under *Lewis Requesnes*; a man of a far milder temper; but he dying suddenly, and no successor to him having been appointed; the administration devolved, by the custom of the country, upon the great council; and this lasted some time, by the delay of *Don John of Austria*, who was appointed governor, natural brother to the *Spanish* king. But the prince of *Orange* being vastly jealous of *Don John*, advised the *Flemings* not to admit him as their governor. However, upon his subscribing the pacification of *Ghent*, of which mention will be made presently; and promising to send away the *Spanish* soldiers, he was received as governor by a great majority.

Q. Did the disorders cease during this interval?

A. They rose still higher; for, upon the mutiny of some *Spanish* troops, for want of their pay; and their seizing upon *Alost*, a town near *Brussels*, the people were inflamed to rage; the tradesmen shut their shops; the peasants gave over their labour, and all ran to arms. In *Brussels* the populace forced into the senate, and drew from thence all such members as they knew were most devoted to the *Spaniards*; killed every person of that nation, whom they met with in the streets; and, all in general, cried aloud, that foreigners must be drove out of the *Netherlands*; and that the states must be assembled, to which the council was forced to submit. During this interval, the chiefs of the provinces of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Hainault*, &c. with those of *Holland* and *Zealand*, entered into an association, in *November* 1577, at *Ghent*, with the prince of *Orange*. This was called, *The Pacification*

pacification of Ghent. Its principal articles were; "The expulsion of all foreign soldiers out of the provinces;" "the restoration of all the antient forms of government;" "and the referring all religious matters, in each province to the provincial estates; and that, for the due performance thereof, there should be a perpetual confederacy between *Holland, Zealand,* and the rest of the provinces." This forms the first period of the troubles in the *Netherlands*; they proving to *Philip II*, that neither the most skilful conduct, nor the bravest armies, are able to stem the torrent of a stubborn, exasperated people; which is sure to beat down all things that oppose it, till it comes to be divided, by art or chance, into different channels; or till the springs, which fed it, are spent, or dry up of themselves.

Q. Did the foreign forces leave the country?

A. They refused to do it, and thereupon were declared rebels. Immediately the *Spanish* troops plunder, with equal bravery and avarice, several cities, and *Antwerp* among the rest. They defend themselves in many strong holds, against the troops of the States; till the arrival of *Don John* in *Luxemburg*; the only city in all the provinces wherein he imagined himself safe, it not joining in the defection of the rest. The estates refusing to admit him, till he had confirmed the pacification of *Ghent*, by leave from the king; *Don John*, at his entrance upon the administration, sent all the foreign troops into *Italy*. But soon after this new governor, whether he were offended to see himself but precariously such; or that he thirsted after occasions of acquiring new fame by a war; or upon fresh instructions sent him from *Spain*; he took the opportunity of complementing queen *Mary of Navarre*, upon her journey to *Spa*, and suddenly seized upon *Namur*. Hereupon the provinces threw off, for a third time, their allegiance; invited the prince of *Orange* to *Brussels*, where he was appointed. by the States of *Brabant*, protector of that province, and both sides prepared for war. During this interval, *Spain* was busy in forming new armies, which were assembled in *Namur* and *Luxemburg*, the only provinces that continued obedient to that crown. After this, all agreeing to elect a governor of their own, *Matthias*,
the

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the emperor's brother, was invited to accept of that dignity.

Q. Was not a third party formed, about this time, in the *Netherlands*?

A. These were called, *The Male Contents*, who, though they agreed, with the rest, in their detestation of the *Spaniards*, and the defence of their liberty and laws; yet had no inclination to shake off their allegiance to his *Spanish* majesty, nor to change the established religion. At the head of these was the duke of *Areschot*, and several great men; who were the less inclined to a general defection, out of envy of the greatness of the prince of *Orange*; he having, by this time, got all possible influence and credit in the counsels of the confederacy. By the assistance of this party, after the sudden demise of *Don John*, his successor, the duke of *Parma*, gained strength and reputation, upon taking upon himself the administration; and it contributed to open the mighty scene of glory and victory, which won him so much renown; signalized his government by a variety of sieges and battles; and reduced so many provinces to the power of *Spain*. This duke reduced the confederates to such great extremities, that they, finding themselves an unequal match for the veteran troops, lately arrived from *Spain* and *Italy*, offered to put themselves under the protection of *Henry III*, of *France*; who refusing to concern himself with this affair, they addressed duke *d'Alençon*, his brother, who complying with their request, repaired immediately to the *Netherlands*; and assumed the government of the confederated states. But finding great divisions and misunderstandings among the chiefs of the party, who all seemed unwilling to be under any command, saw it would be impossible for him to effect any thing of moment; and returning to *France*, died soon after. In 1584, the *United Provinces* received a fatal blow, by the death of the prince of *Orange*, who was assassinated by *Balthazar Gerbard*, a *Burgundian*, in his palace at *Delft*; upon which the states of *Holland* made *Maurice*, his younger son, being seventeen years old, their stadtholder. Upon the increasing of the male-contents above mentioned; and, as a distinction from those, who, pursuing a middle and perillous course, were at last to join one of the

extremes; the more northern provinces, assembling at *Utrecht*, by their deputies or representatives, *Anno 1579*, framed the alliance styled, *The Union of Utrecht*; and this was the original constitution of the Republick, since termed the *United Provinces*. The prince of *Orange* would fain have united all the seventeen provinces of the *Netherlands* in one confederacy; but found that this was impracticable, because of the difference in religions, and the factions which prevailed among the chiefs of the party.

Q. What occasioned this union?

A. The *Spaniards* breaking the pacification of *Ghent*, and their fresh invasion of some towns in *Guelderland*. It was not hereby intended to divide these provinces from the generality, nor from the pacification in question; but to corroborate and pursue the design of it, by more vigorous and united counsels and arms.

Q. What were the chief articles of this union?

A. " The seven provinces unite themselves together,
 " as though they formed but one; and so as never to be
 " severed by will, donation, exchange, sale, or agree-
 " ment: each particular province and city, reserving it's
 " several privileges, rights, customs, and statutes; in ad-
 " judging of which, or of any contests that may arise be-
 " tween any of the provinces; the rest shall concern them-
 " selves no farther therein, than merely to endeavour at
 " a reconciliation. They agree to assist one another, with
 " their lives and fortunes, against all assaults made on any
 " of them; whether upon pretence of royal majesty; of
 " restoring the Romish religion; or of any other matter.
 " All frontier-towns that belong to the union, if old,
 " shall be fortified at the expence of the province in which
 " they are situated; if new, to be built at the charge of
 " the generality. All duties and customs to be offered,
 " every three months, to the highest bidder; and these,
 " with the royal income, to be employed for the common
 " defence. All inhabitants, from eighteen to sixty, to be
 " enlisted and trained within a month. Peace and war not
 " to be concluded without the consent of all the provinces;
 " but all other cases, relating to the management of both,
 " to be determined by the majority of voices. Any dif-
 " ferences or contests that may arise, concerning the former,
 " between

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“ between the several provinces, shall be submitted to the
 “ stadtholder. Neighbouring princes, lords, lands, cities,
 “ shall be permitted to join the union, by consent of the
 “ several provinces. With regard to religion, the pro-
 “ vinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* shall act as they may
 “ therein see fitting. The other provinces may regulate
 “ themselves pursuant to the tenor settled by arch-duke
 “ *Matthias*; or else, as they may judge most conducive to
 “ the peace and happiness of their respective provinces;
 “ provided that every one continue free in the exercise of
 “ his religion; and that no man be examined or ensnared
 “ on that account, agreeably to the pacification of *Ghent*.
 “ In case of any difference arising between the provinces,
 “ if it concern one in particular, it shall be made up by
 “ the rest; if it relate to them all, by the stadtholders;
 “ and in both these cases, sentence (without appeal or re-
 “ vival) shall be pronounced within a month. The States
 “ to be held as formerly; and the mint to be regulated in
 “ such a manner as shall be agreed on by all the provinces.
 “ The States to be allowed the interpretation of these
 “ articles; or the stadtholders, in case of any disputes
 “ arising. They agree to imprison any person, (without
 “ allowing any privilege or exemption,) who shall act
 “ contrary to these articles.” This act of union was
 signed *January* 23, 1579 by the deputies of *Guelderland*,
Zutphen, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, and the *Omlands* of
Frieze; but the prince of *Orange* did not sign it till *May*
 following; and with this restriction, that the superiority
 and authority of the arch-duke *Matthias* was not supposed
 to be thereby lessened. This union was signed, the same
 year, by certain other cities and nobles.

Q. What was the state or condition of the *Dutch* com-
 monwealth at it's foundation?

A. Exceedingly low, occasioned by the diversity of
 men's opinions at that time; by the various views and in-
 terests of the several parties, particularly in the other
 provinces; and by the mighty preparations which *Spain*
 was making to crush them. For this reason they stamped,
 on their first coin, a ship, without sails or oars, struggling
 with the waves; and with this motto, *Incertum quo fata*
ferant. (Whither it may be driven is uncertain.) The

inveterate hatred which this people bore to the *Spanish* nation and government, seems to have been the chief cause of the rise of this new commonwealth. The abhorrence of the *Spanish* government, under duke *d'Alva*, was so violent and so universal, that it occasioned a general revolt in the provinces; this abhorrence ran through all religions, and all ranks of men, as was evident from the pacification of *Ghent*: till by the dissensions of the parties; by the mighty power of the *Spanish* monarchy, and by the unparalleled conduct and bravery of the duke of *Parma*; this humour, like poison in a strong constitution, was expelled from the heart, (*Flanders* and *Brabant*,) and the rest of the ten provinces, into the extreme parts; and the body saved by the other seven being cut off. After this, the most inflamed spirits being drove, by the *Spanish* arms, into the *United Provinces*; or invited thither by the hopes of liberty and safety; the hatred of *Spain* became so violent, that the revolters would not only have submitted cheerfully to any other government, rather than return to the former; but when they, at last, saw their affairs grown desperate, they once were forming a resolution to burn their great towns; to drown as much as they could of their country; and afterwards to go in quest of some new seat in the *East-Indies*. This they might have effected, had they found shipping sufficient to carry off their great numbers; and had they not been restrained by their pity of those who, being left behind, would have been exposed to the mercy of an enraged, victorious master.

Q. What declaration did queen *Elizabeth* publish, upon her resolving to assist the States?

A. Her majesty declared, that, from time immemorial, *England* and the *Netherlands* had constantly traded together; and entered into alliances for their mutual advantage, even when that country was governed by distinct sovereigns, and every province had it's particular lord: that when they were afterwards all united in the house of *Burgundy*; treaties of amity, and mutual commerce, had been concluded between the kings of *England* and the dukes of *Burgundy*; and the subjects of both powers always entertained the greatest friendship and kindness for each other; and traded together to their reciprocal profit, and

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and the enriching of their respective countries; till the *Spaniards* and other foreigners, being introduced into the country, contrary to the constitution of the government; had, in a tyrannical manner, without the least colour of law or justice, banished, murdered, or destroyed the nobility and principal inhabitants. And though it was at first pretended, that these persecutions arose from a zeal for the Romish religion; yet neither the catholicks, nor even churchmen, had been spared: That count *Egmont* particularly, a gentleman well affected to the popish religion, and the glory of his country, had been executed; one who, having been frequently victorious in the service of his catholic majesty, merited a far different fate. That the *Spaniards*, and other foreign troops, had made the country desolate; and destroyed the wealthy towns, which, under the emperor *Charles V*, were thought to have yielded him as great a treasure as the *Indies*. That the king of *France*, reflecting on the oppression of the *Flemings*, had promised them his protection; and, when prevented from doing it by civil wars, had recommended them to the care of her majesty. That she had often represented to the catholic king, the ill consequences with which his barbarous treatment of his subjects would be attended, as it would unavoidably compel them to seek for some other sovereign to protect them; in which they would be justified by the laws and constitutions of their country; these absolving the *Flemings*, from their allegiance, in cases of such general injustice, and notorious violation of their privileges. That her majesty was obliged, in a political view, to prevent the *Spaniards* from making a conquest of the *Netherlands*, which otherwise would greatly endanger her own realms; especially since the king of *Spain* had fomented and encouraged the *Irish* rebels, and joined them to his own troops; a circumstance which, singly, would justify her conduct, in assisting the *Dutch*, upon their uninterrupted mournful request, for succour; in order to defend them against the rage and cruelty of the *Spaniards*, and other foreigners. The *Zealanders*, upon the conclusion of a treaty between queen *Elizabeth* and the *United Provinces*, coined money, stamped with a lion (their arms) rising out

of the waves, with the following motto alluding to that circumstance, *Luctor & emergo* (I struggle, and rise forth;); and, on the reverse, were the arms of the several cities of Zeeland, with this motto, *Authore Deo, favente regina* (God the author, and the queen assisting.)

Q. To what do the *Spanish* and *Italian* historians ascribe the revolt in the *Netherlands*?

A. To the change of religion; to the natural stubbornness of the people; and to the ambition of the prince of *Orange*: but it is certain that religion produces no such mighty effects, except it is blinded by ambition and interest; it furnishing examples of constant sufferings, rather than of desperate actions. A people's nature cannot change in an instant, any more than the climate which infuses it; and no country has given birth to better subjects than many of these provinces, both before and since the commotions in question. And it had been impossible, for the ambition of one man to have brought about so great a change, had it not been seconded by general discontent: nor could this have risen so high, had it not been kindled and fomented by the unhappy counsels of the *Spaniards*. For though it would have been difficult to head such a body; to inspire it with life, and give it such regular motions, without the accident of so excellent a governor in the provinces as *William*, prince of *Orange*, a man no less a statesman than a hero; and no less beloved at home, than dreaded abroad; (though *Puffendorff* styles him a crafty, ambitious man;) yet all these qualities could not have brought about so mighty a revolution, had it not been for the absence of the king of *Spain*; and the people's entertaining an opinion that he bore an ill will to their nation, and to their laws; had not foreign troops been kept on foot after the wars were ended; had it not been for the erection of new episcopal sees, and the establishment of the inquisition: add to these, *Granvelle's* ministry, and the exclusion of the lords from their accustomed share in the counsels, and in affairs; the administration of a man so much detested as duke *d'Alva*; the severity of his prosecutions, and his insolence in erecting a statue: lastly, count *Egmont's* death, and the imposition of the
tenth

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tenth and twentieth parts, contrary to the legal forms of government, in a country in which a succession, derived from time immemorial, made the inhabitants delighted with, and tenacious of their antient laws and customs. These were the seeds of this people's hatred to *Spain*, which increasing in a course of about threescore years war, was not allayed by a long succeeding peace; so difficult it is for the human mind to forget injuries, especially those of a bloody and destructive kind. This commonwealth rose to so much grandeur, in fifty years, that it rivaled the most formidable powers in *Europe*; and disputed the dominion of the sea, even with *Great-Britain*, which had given the most considerable succours to the Republic, in it's infancy, and greatly contributed to it's exaltation.

Q. When were the *United Provinces* acknowledged as free states by the crown of *Spain*?

A. In 1609. The *Dutch*, since their separation from the other ten provinces, had tasted the sweets of sovereignty, they being now become the High and Mighty States; and thence could not be wrought upon, by any artifices of the *Spaniards*, to return to their former allegiance. They had acquired immense riches, by their attacks on the settlements belonging to the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* in the *Indies*. The losses which those sustained at sea, and the apprehensions of further mischief to their plantations in the *East* and *West-Indies*, made them, at last, very desirous of concluding a peace, with the *Dutch*, which these refused, till that crown should acknowledge them as free and independent states. The success of the *Dutch* arms, by land, during thirty years; the vast increase of their trade and their naval power, caused the people of the *United Provinces*, in general, to be averse to a peace. They could not expect to reap greater advantages, by their concluding a treaty, than they gained by their prizes, and their daily acquisitions in the *East-Indies*, by which many had made their fortunes; and great numbers more were in hopes of amassing riches, in case the war continued. However, their fears lest the king of *France* should grow too powerful a neighbour; and their jealousy lest prince *Maurice*, who was become very popular, should aspire to

the sovereignty over his country, induced the wisest among them to conclude a truce, with *Spain* *.

Q. What were the most remarkable instances of cruelty, during the persecution of the *Low Countries*?

A. In 1525, *John Van Backer* of *Woerden*, who had taken orders to please his father, was imprisoned. He was condemned for preaching, contrary to the prohibitions, and because he had married. He was first degraded upon a scaffold, where, a yellow garment being put upon him, with a hat of the same colour, he was carried to the place of execution. Passing by the prison, in which many persons were confined for the faith, he cried out; "Behold, my dear brethren; I am ready to suffer martyrdom. Cheer up like faithful soldiers of Christ; and, animated by my example, defend the truth of the gospel against all unrighteousness." The prisoners, the instant they heard these words, clapt their hands and shouted: and, in order to honour the martyrdom of their friend, they sung *Te Deum*, the *Certamen Magnum*, and the hymn *O beata Martyrum sollemnia*; and did not give over singing till the martyr was dead. When *Van Backer* was fastened to the stake, he cried; "O death! where is thy sting? O grave! where is thy victory? Death is swallowed up by the victory of Jesus Christ." He expired after saying the following words: "Lord Jesus! forgive them, for they know not what they do. O Son of God! remember me. Have mercy upon me."—He was the first martyr, in *Holland*, for *Lutheranism* †. In 1544, *Giles Tielman*, of *Amsterdam*, was burnt in that city, for advising a lady to bestow, upon the poor, the money which she had bequeathed to the clergy: and because the sick persons, whom he frequented, slighted the visits of the priests. Farther, he, when put to the rack, refused to discover other hereticks. It is related, that, whenever he prayed to God, he fell into such extasies, that he neither saw, nor heard, those who spoke to him ‡.

* For most of the above particulars, see Sir *William Temple's* Observations upon the *United Provinces* of the *Netherlands*. London, 1676. 8vo. † Abridgment of *Gerard Brandt's* History of the Reformation, in the *Low-Countries*, Vol. i. p. 24, 26. ‡ *Idem*, p. 69.

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Q. Who was *Bertrand le Blas*?

A. A velvet-maker in *Tournay*. This man snatching the host out of the hands of a priest, during the elevation; broke, and trod it under foot, for the glory of God, (as he termed it) and to shew that this host was not Christ. This zealot might have escaped, but would not: and declared that, were it possible, he would do the same an hundred times. He was made to suffer a terrible death*. All judicious persons, who may abhor the cruelty of his persecutors, must condemn his ill judged enthusiasm; or rather think him to have been distracted. In 1568, *Herman Schinkel*, a man of letters, aged thirty-two, who supported himself by printing books, suffered death, at *Delft*, with amazing courage. Two or three hours before his execution, he composed a considerable number of *Latin* verses, addressed to two of his friends. *Adrian Junius* relates, that *Schinkel*, just before his execution, talked to him, concerning a critical remark, on the forty-second verse of *Seneca's* *Octavia*; observing, that it should be *Thamisis*, instead of *Tamais*†. These martyrs suffered death with surprizing constancy. As the gags used frequently to drop out of their mouths; a terrible engine was prevented to hinder their speaking. The persecutors put the tongues of the martyrs between two small irons, and burnt the tip of it with a red-hot iron. It swelled, and emitted a sound, very like that of the brazen bull of the *Sicilian* tyrant‡.

Q. What is the next remarkable instance of popish cruelty?

A. *Richard Willemson*, of *Asperen*, an anabaptist, being pursued, in the depth of winter, by an officer of justice, ran away upon the ice, which not being very thick, it was with difficulty that he got over it: but it broke under his pursuer. *Willemson* perceiving the danger his enemy was in, ran back; helped him to get out of the water; and saved his life at the hazard of his own. The officer, struck with his generosity, would willingly have let him

* Abridgment of *Gerard Brandt's* History of the Reformation, in the *Low-Countries*, Vol. i. page 76.

† *Idem*, page 119.

‡ *Idem*, *ibid.*

go; but was prevented by the burgo-master, who came that very instant; so that the officer, fearing lest his gratitude should endanger his own life, carried the poor man to prison; and he afterwards was burnt alive. His torments were inexpressible; the inhabitants of *Leerdam*, (at some distance from *Asperen*,) hearing him cry out, above seventy times, "O Lord! O my God *!"

2. Did not four *Dutch* clergymen suffer death at the *Hague*, in 1570?

A. These were *Arent Vos*, *Sybrand Janson*, *Adrian Jan*, and *Walter Simonson*. After having been confined three years in prison, they were declared hereticks at the *Hague*, the 12th of *May*, and degraded on the 27th in manner following. The prisoners being brought into a room, sacerdotal habits were there put on them. Thence they went into another room, where was a bishop and two abbots. The latter cut off some of the hair of the prisoners, and gently scraped, with a knife, their crowns; and the tips of those fingers, with which they had made the elevation at the altar. The bishop then pulled off their habits, saying; "I strip you of the robe of righteousness." One of the clergymen replied: "Not so; but rather of the robe of unrighteousness." He said farther to the bishop; "You knew the truth formerly, but have maliciously rejected it. You must give an account of your actions, at the day of judgment." The bishop trembled, and all the spectators were struck with amazement; they knowing that the victim, (seventy years old,) was a learned, judicious, and very pious man. This ceremony ended, the bishop delivered them over to the magistrate, desiring him to be favourable to them; which made the victim say, *Quam pharisaicè!* (How pharisaically!) The prisoners being told over night, that they were to suffer the next day; overjoyed at the news, they lifted up their hands to heaven; thanked God that the day of their deliverance was at hand; and sung, with a loud voice, the sixteenth psalm. "Preserve me, O God! for in thee do I put my trust, &c." The same night

* Abridgment of *Gerard Brandt's* History of the Reformation, in the *Low-Countries*, Vol. i. p. 122.

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they comforted themselves with receiving the blessed sacrament ; entreated their friends to visit them no more, but to pray for them. Next day, being brought into court, they were sentenced to die, and then went to the place of execution. In the way, they exhorted the people with wonderful courage, and recommended their own souls to God. *Adrian Jan's* father coming up to him, said ; “ Dear son, “ fight courageously : a crown of eternal life is prepared “ for you.” The officers would not permit him to proceed ; when the martyr's sister cried, with a loud voice : “ Brother, be courageous, your sufferings will not last “ long. The door of eternal life is opened to you.” The four clergymen were strangled at the stake, and then burnt. Many spectators, moved at their constancy, were extremely grieved, that men, who had led a life of unspotted innocence, should suffer so cruel a death *.

2. Who was the last person put to death, in the *Netherlands*, on a religious account.

A. Ann Vanderhove, in 1595, a servant-maid, about forty years of age. This woman refusing to retract her opinions, was buried alive near *Brussels*. Being put in the grave ; her persecutors first threw some earth upon her feet ; and then, by little and little, over her body, quite to the neck. Some *Jesuits* then asking her, whether she was willing to return to the church, (giving her hopes of saving her life by that means ;) she cried out, with surprising courage ; “ Those who seek to save their life here, “ shall lose it hereafter.” She continued imploring the assistance of heaven, till the executioner covered her head with earth, which he trod several times with his feet. The groans of the poor woman were heard under the load, which filled the spectators with consternation and horror.—Such sometimes are the horrid effects of superstition and imposture. The most enormous crimes have been committed, upon pretence of glorifying God †.

2. Did not the monks draw great advantage from visions and revelations ?

* Abridgment of *Gerard Brandt's* History of the Reformation, in the *Low-Countries*, Vol. i. pages 132, 133, 134. † *Idem*, pages 234, 235.

A. Henry Mande, born in *Dort*, secretary to *William*, sixth count of *Holland*, being resolved to renounce the world; declared that Christ had appeared to him, and commanded him to embrace a monastic life. He accordingly left the court, and took the habit of a monk, in the convent of *Wind-sheim* near *Zwol*. This monk had other revelations; he pretending that he discoursed with angels in his solitude; and that these spirits discovered to him unknown things. He declared that himself, like *St. Paul*, had been taken up into the third heaven; and had there seen many monks, who died in his convent. As he was one day performing the office of door-keeper, in his monastery, he heard some one knock at the door. This was a young boy of a shining aspect. "Who are you?" (said the monk.) The boy replied: "I am the Lamb of God. This convent is the house of my father; and those who live in it are my brothers." This being spread over the country, people flocked to the monastery, from all parts, to ask the monk what he had seen in heaven; when every answer was paid for very liberally. Our monk, in order to make his visions of greater advantage to the convent, was made to travel over *Holland*. He was kindly received in every town, and particularly at *Delft*; he getting no small reputation there, and a great deal of money. He used to say to the poor; "I have seen the souls of your relations in heaven." But to the rich; "I have seen your friends and relations, in purgatory, where they cried out lamentably." The credulous people, struck with the pretended sad fate of those who were dear to them, gave money to the monk, in order that masses might be said, in his convent, for the repose of their souls *.

Q. Did not these persecutions greatly thin the *Netherlands*?

A. Above an hundred thousand families left them, during duke *d'Alva's* persecution. Persons accused, were often condemned with amazing carelessness, of which here follows an instance. *James Hefells*, advocate, and member of the council of tumults, used to sleep after dinner,

* Abridgment of *Gerard Brandt's* History of the Reformation, in the *Low-Countries*, Vol. i. p. 9, 10.

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in court, at the trial of hereticks. Whenever he was waked on these occasions, in order for him to give his vote, he would rub his eyes and cry: *Ad patibulum, ad patibulum*: that is to the gallows, to the gallows*. Inhuman wretch! thus to sport with men's lives!—It is assured that *Tapper*, great inquisitor of the *Low Countries*, who was a violent persecutor, spoke thus one day; “It is no great matter whether those, who suffer on a religious account, be guilty or not, provided we can but frighten the people by such examples. These cannot fail of success, when men eminent for their learning, wealth, nobility, and high preferments, are sacrificed †.” Can any thing be more horrid than these reflections! How different is this spirit, from that of one of our judges, who used to say, that he had rather an hundred guilty persons should escape, than one innocent man suffer.—I shall observe, by the way, that the poets and orators, of the *Netherlands*, contributed to the reformation, by exposing the vices and cruelty of the clergy; and none writ to so much purpose, as the admirable *Erasmus*, whose pen gave a stab to the monkish system. *Philip II.* published a placard or proclamation, in 1559, forbidding the exhibition of farces, plays, songs, &c. wherein affairs of the church were mentioned ‡. This, doubtless, was done, to check the powerful pens of the satyrists.

Q. What examples, besides those already exhibited, may be given of the barbarities practiced in the *Netherlands*?

A. It were endless to recapitulate them all: but here follow some. In 1572, *Don Frederic* of *Toledo*, duke *d'Alva's* nephew, surprized *Zutphen*; and treated the inhabitants in a most cruel manner. He caused one thousand five hundred burghers, to be hanged upon trees, or drowned in the *Yssel*; and ordered the town to be fired in eight places. He extorted great sums from the burghers, and did not spare the clergy. All the protestants in *Guelderland*, *Over-Yssel*, and *Friseland* suffered a cruel per-

* Abridgment of *Gerard Brandt's* History of the Reformation, in the *Low Countries*, Vol. i. p. 120.

† *Idem.* p. 90, 91.

‡ *Idem.* p. 89.

secution. At *Naerden*, though the inhabitants opened their gates, and begged forgiveness; they yet were all massacred, threescore excepted *. The city of *Antwerp* was barbarously treated by the *Spaniards*; these sparing neither the priests nor the monks; but plundering churches; and those very men, who were perpetually boasting their veneration for saints, stript their images †. The town of *Oudewater* being taken by storm, the *Spaniards* made a horrid slaughter of the inhabitants, not excepting the women. There were butchered, among others, the mother, sister, and two brothers of the well known *Arminius* ‡. In 1536, the celebrated *William Tindal*, was involved in the persecution of the *Netherlands*. Being apprehended in *Antwerp*, he was strangled and burnt at *Vilvorde*; for having translated the new testament, into *English*; and for dispersing it in *England* ||.

Q. What was the horrid anathema which the clergy, in the darker ages, used to employ against their enemies?

A. It is as follows;—"By the command of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; of the blessed *Mary*, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ; of St. *Michael*, St. *John* the baptist, and *Peter* and *Paul*, princes of the apostles; of St. *Stephen*, and all the martyrs; St. *Sylvester*, and all the confessors; St. *Aldegonde*, and all the holy virgins; and all the other saints whatsoever, both in heaven and upon earth.—We curse and cut off, from holy mother church, those who have done [*such or such a thing*]; or knew of it, or advised it; or had a hand in it. Let them be cursed in their houses, their beds, their fields, their lands, their ways; in towns and villages. Let them be cursed in woods, rivers, and churches; cursed in their law-suits, and in their quarrels; cursed in their prayers, in speaking, and in being silent; in eating, drinking and sleeping; in watching, walking, standing, running, resting, and riding; cursed in hearing, seeing and tasting; cursed in all their actions. Let this curse strike their eyes, and their whole body, from

* Abridgment of *Gerard Brandt's History of the Reformation*, in the *Low-Countries*, Vol. i. p. 149, 150.

† *Idem*, p. 166.

|| *Idem*, p. 51.

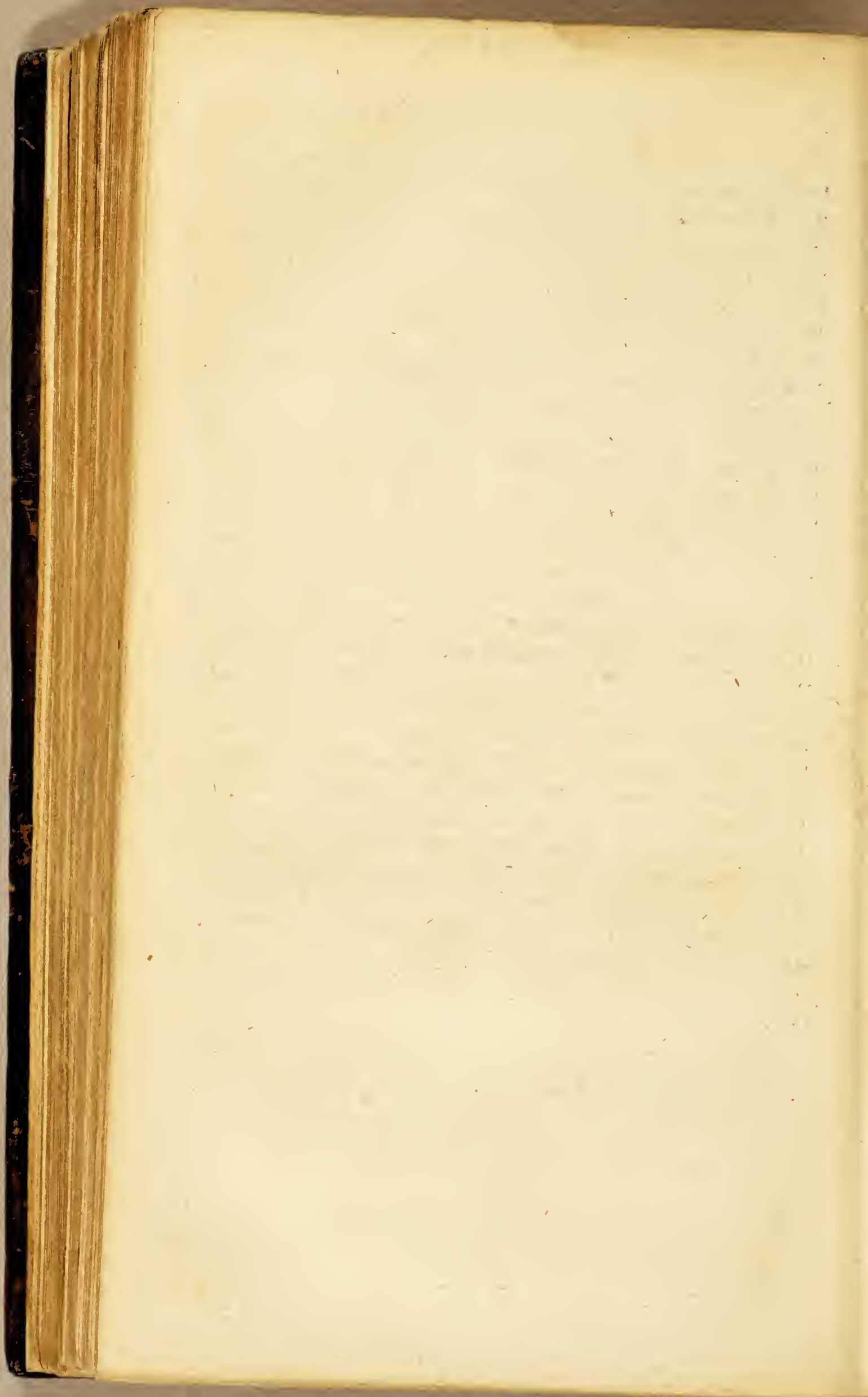
‡ *Idem*, p. 174.

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“ the crown of the head to the sole of the feet. I adjure
 “ thee, Satan, and all thy agents ; by the Father, the Son,
 “ and the Holy Ghost, to have no rest, neither in the day,
 “ nor in the night, till thou shalt have brought a temporal
 “ and eternal confusion upon them ; by so contriving mat-
 “ ters, that they may be drowned or hanged, or devoured
 “ by wild beasts ; torn by vultures or eagles ; consumed
 “ by fire ; or killed by their enemies. Make them odious
 “ to all living creatures. Let their children be fatherless,
 “ and their wives widows. Let no one, for the time to
 “ come, help them ; or take pity on their fatherless
 “ children. And as Lucifer was expelled from heaven,
 “ and *Adam* was banished from Paradise ; let them be
 “ likewise expelled and banished from this world, being
 “ deprived of their estates ; and let them be buried with
 “ the burial of an ass. Let them be partakers of the
 “ punishment of *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram* ; of *Judas*
 “ and *Pontius Pilate* ; and of all those, who say to the Lord
 “ their God :—*Get thee gone : we will have no knowledge*
 “ *of thy paths* *.” Afterwards, he who pronounced these
 imprecations, put out two lighted candles, which he held
 in his hands ; and added these dreadful words : “ I adjure
 “ thee, Satan, and all thy agents, to extinguish the light of
 “ their eyes, as these candles are extinguished ; except
 “ they repent, and make full satisfaction. *Amen*. So be
 “ it. *Amen* †.” How blasphemous is all this ! yet the
 ignorant, common people were frightened, almost to death,
 at these excommunications. Of all hypocrites, these pre-
 tended religious must be the most execrable : and I know
 not which we are to wonder at most ; at the unparalleled
 effrontery of these impostors, or at the extreme weakness
 of the vulgar.

* *Boxborn's History of the Low-Countries*, p. 95.
Brandt's Abridgment, Vol. i. p. 8.

† *Gerard*.






HISTORY

OF THE

ROMISH PERSECUTIONS

IN

FRANCE.

2. HEN were the protestants first put to death, in *France*, upon a religious account?

A. Under *Francis I*; though he (about 1553) had entered into a defensive alliance with the *Lutheran* princes of *Germany*, against the emperor *Charles V*, who was then thought to aspire to universal monarchy. The view, therefore, of *Francis*, in acceding to this league, was not out of any regard to the protestant religion, but merely to check the power of that emperor. A glaring proof of the hatred which *Francis I.* bore to the reformed religion, was, his executing many of his subjects for professing it: and his commanding a detachment from his army, to burn the city of *Cabrieres*: together with the town of *Merindol*, and many other towns and villages. On this occasion masters of families were burnt

burnt alive : their goods plundered ; and their wives and children turned out to starve. His soldiers, in order to extirpate what was falsely called heresy, committed unheard of barbarities. This was about *Anno 1545*. And yet it is well known, that *Francis I.* saved the republic of *Geneva*, which was the metropolis of protestantism : and did great service to the protestants in *Germany*. What an inconsistent conduct have we here ! to protect the chief seat of the protestants in a foreign country ; and yet burn protestants in his own. But this is one of the scenes of the grand farce of this world. Princes have, in all ages, sported with religion in this manner * ; though religion ought of all things to be the least sported with. His son and successor, *Henry II.* revived his edicts against the protestants.

Q Did not great disturbances break out, under his son *Francis II.* upon a religious account ?

A. This was made the pretence, though politicks were at the bottom of it. *France* was now torn by factions, which had rose to a great height in the preceding reign. It was then that began the fatal emulation between the houses of *Montmorenci* and *Guise*, or *Lorrain*, which occasioned infinite distractions in the kingdom. The change of religion contributed likewise to these intestine feuds ; when the duke of *Guise* was looked upon as the head of the papists ; and the constable of *Montmorenci*, and admiral *Coligni*, (head of the *Chatillon* family,) the chiefs of the protestants. This constable, a stubborn and inflexible man, was the most unfortunate general of the age †. *Coligni*, admiral of *France*, was son of *Gaspard de Coligni*, marshal of *France*, and of *Louisa de Montmorenci*, sister to the constable ‡. *Francis II.* was a weak prince both in body and mind, and no ways qualified to govern a kingdom. Hence three factions endeavoured to get the administration into their hands, viz. that of the house of *Guise* ; of the constable *Montmorenci*, and of the princes of the blood ; but the intriguing and ambitious queen-mother,

* General Dictionary historical and critical, Vol. v. under the article *Francis I.* Note (P.) † *Henriade de Voltaire*, (Notes,) p. 58, 59. ‡ *Idem*, p. 60, 61. Note.

(*Catherine de Medicis*,) relict of *Henry II*, adhering to the *Guises*, this party carried all before them. *Anthony de Bourbon*, king of *Navarre*, first prince of the blood, (father to the renowned *Henry IV*. of *France*;) and the prince of *Condé*, his brother, were also banished, in a manner; and admiral *Coligni*, and *Dandelot*, his brother, were looked upon with an evil eye. Hereupon these gentlemen, with several other persons of distinction, united against the court. Observing that the protestant religion began to spread all over the kingdom; and that it's professors had been cruelly persecuted under the late reign, principally by the machinations of the *Guises*, they therefore greatly hated them: and thereupon resolved to join their interest with that of the protestants, as this would very much strengthen their party; not to mention the support, which they expected from the *English* queen *Elizabeth*, and the protestant princes of *Germany*. It was agreed, that the prince of *Condé* should have the direction of the enterprize, but not avow it openly till matters should be riper. In pursuance of these resolutions, soldiers were raised, and parties formed in every part of the kingdom,

Q. What happened afterwards?

A. The king caused the lords, both spiritual and temporal, with the lawyers, to assemble, in order to deliberate upon the present state of affairs, and particularly with respect to religion. On this occasion admiral *Coligni* presented a petition to the king, in behalf of his protestant subjects; informing his majesty, that though it was not signed by any one, there yet were fifty-thousand, in the province of *Normandy*, ready to sign it. The king, demanding the opinion of the assembly as to that article; the cardinal of *Lorrain* (brother to the duke of *Guise*,) declared this petition to be seditious, foolish, scandalous, heretical and impudent; and that, if there were fifty thousand factious people who would sign it, he himself would answer for a million of substantial persons in *France*, who were ready to chastise their insolence. It was afterwards agreed, that the states of the realm should deliberate upon these matters. The above cardinal was a man of vast abilities; but then he made a very ill use of them, to
the

the great prejudice of *France*, merely to satiate his violent thirst after riches and honours*. As to *Francis*, duke of *Guise*, above mentioned, brother to the cardinal, he was one of the most renowned captains of his age. Though he had done very important services to his country; yet the evils he brought upon it were much greater, in proportion, than the advantages which his valour and his conduct had procured it. His ambition, and that of his brother the cardinal, brought desolation upon the kingdom; whilst that the sanguinary spirit with which they were fired, against the protestants of *France*, gave rise to civil wars, which more than once brought that kingdom to the brink of ruin†. It is observed, that matters were so disposed at the time *Francis II.* died, that the ruin of the protestants seemed inevitable‡. The learned *Beza* || tells us, that it was in the reign of *Francis II.*, successor to *Henry*, that Satan's rage rose to an extreme height. So that one might say of this reign, which lasted but seventeen months, what Christ says, in *St. Matthew*, viz. that unless those days had been shortened, no man could be saved; but that for the elect's sake, they were shortened.

Q. Who succeeded *Francis II.*?

A. His brother *Charles IX.*, being but ten years and a half old, at his accession to the throne; his mother, *Catherine de Medicis*, was appointed regent; when she had the address to secure both parties to her interest, by flattering each of them with the hopes of her countenance and protection. Not long after the constable of *Montmorenci* forsook the protestants, and joined with the *Guises*. In *September 1561*, a conference was opened, between the protestant and popish doctors, at *Poissy*, in presence of the king, the queen-mother, the princes, and a great many lords, both spiritual and temporal. *Beza*, a man of vast learning and eloquence, then present, being permitted to speak in behalf of the protestant principles, he was heard very patiently, till he had almost finished his speech;

* *Bayle's Dictionary* under *Lorrain* (*Charles* of). † *Idem*, under *Guise* (*Francis* of *Lorrain*, duke of). ‡ *Maimbourg's History of Calvinism*. || *Hist. ecclesiastique des Eglises Reformées*, Liv. iii. p. 21.

wherein,

wherein, having repeated the profession of his faith, agreeably to the apostle's creed; and explained some articles thereof pursuant to the doctrine of *Calvin*, he thence took occasion to say; that Christ's body was as far removed from the bread and wine in the sacrament, as heaven was from earth. This occasioned a general murmur; when cardinal *De Tournon* rose up, and inveighing bitterly against this blasphemy (as he termed it;) he besought the king, not to suffer himself to be imposed upon by these new doctors, but to command them to depart the kingdom; adding, that they only corrupted the people. *Beza* begged leave of the king, but in vain, to answer the cardinal. Not long after these conferences, the *Guises* had the art to draw over the king of *Navarre*, a weak prince, to their party. A war afterwards breaking out, between the protestants and papists, sieges were carried on, and battles fought; but the duke of *Guise* being shot by one *Poltrót-de-Méré*, with three poisoned balls*, at the siege of *Orleans*, a peace was concluded *Anno* 1563, in which several concessions were made in favour of the protestants. After this, both parties uniting, they drove the *English* out of *Normandy*, and all *France*. In 1564, a severe edict was published against the protestants. The year following, *Henry*, duke of *Guise*, (son to the above mentioned,) was reconciled, in outward appearance, to admiral *Coligni*. The prince of *Condé*, observing the partiality of the queen-mother, to the popish party, concluded an alliance with the prince of *Orange*; and such of the protestants, of the *Netherlands*, as were nicknamed *Gueux*, or beggars. After this the prince of *Condé*, and admiral *Coligni* drew the sword, and waged war (in which the constable of *Montmorenci* lost his life) against the Roman catholicks: but a treaty or truce was concluded in 1568, after that *France* had suffered numberless calamities.

Q. Was this truce lasting?

A. No: for the *French* court, being now governed by the treacherous queen-mother, *Catherine of Medicis*; she concluded this truce with no other view than that of de-

* Notes on the *Henriade*, p. 59.

destroying both the prince of *Condé* and the admiral ; who were now become so jealous of her, that they did not think it prudent to reside at court, but withdrew to their respective estates, among their friends and vassals. After this the king attempted to seize, in the most treacherous manner, the prince and the admiral ; but failed in this design : when this alarming the protestants, they assembled troops in all the provinces for their defence. Immediately the queen-mother advanced to *Rochelle*, with a strong body of forces ; when the winter was employed in little skirmishes. In 1569 the duke of *Anjou*, the king's brother, who commanded the royal army, engaging the prince of *Condé* at *Jarnac*, the latter was basely killed by baron *De Montesquiou*, and his army defeated ; notwithstanding which the admiral made a good retreat. The excellent *Jane d'Albret*, queen of *Navarre*, with her son, *Henry*, prince of *Bearn*, (afterwards the renowned *Henry IV.*) whose father had lost his life at the siege of *Roan* ; and *Henry*, son to the late prince of *Condé*, meeting with the admiral, it was agreed, that the prince of *Bearn* should be declared head of the protestant party ; whereupon they all took an oath to stand by him with their lives and fortunes, till they should obtain a safe and honourable peace. The war growing hotter, and the young duke of *Guise* being admitted into the council, the admiral was proscribed, and a price set upon his head ; upon the supposition that if he could once be taken off, the protestant interest must necessarily sink. This project not succeeding, the duke of *Anjou* gave the admiral battle, and defeated him, after which conditions of peace were again insidiously offered him by the court ; and although the admiral suspected that all this was done in a treacherous view ; yet his circumstances were such, that he thought it prudent to enter once more into a treaty with the king, or rather the queen-mother. In this treaty (called of *St. Germain* ;) abstracted from the concessions granted to the protestants by former pacifications ; the several towns were specified, in which they were permitted to hold their assemblies for divine worship ; (the cities of *Rochelle*, *La Charité*, *Montauban*, and *Cognac*, being granted them for cautionary towns ;) the protestants were now declared capable of holding

holding public employments; and the prince of *Orange* was put in possession of the principality so called. All these conditions were more advantageous than the protestants could naturally have expected, had their affairs been in ever so flourishing a condition.

Q. What happened in 1572?

A. The year before, the king having solemnized his marriage with *Elizabeth* of *Austria*, daughter to the emperor *Maximilian*; he, in order to draw the chiefs of the protestant party to court, proposed another marriage, between *Henry*, prince of *Bearn*, son to the queen of *Navarre*, and his sister, the princess *Margaret*; which offer *Jane d'Albret* accepted with pleasure; and set out, with her son, for *Paris*, in order to be present at the nuptials. The king went as far as *Blois* to meet her; and, at their first interview, gave her the strongest testimonies of his friendship and confidence; and was so overjoyed with the horrid scene he had in view, that he asked the queen-mother, with a smile, whether he had not played his part well; to which she answering, that it would signify nothing to begin well, unless he went through; the king replied with an oath, that he would catch them all in the net. The next step was to draw the admiral into the snare: when the king, to induce the protestants to put the greater confidence in him, said, that he would declare war against *Spain*; which court was well known to be the great support of the house of *Guise*; the authors of most of the severities exercised upon the protestants in *France*. The *French* king went so far, as to let the prince of *Orange* raise troops in the last mentioned country, to oppose the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*; besides other actions, which seemed to argue a real design in the king of *France*, to break with *Spain*. Upon this, the admiral sent count *Nassau* to his majesty, to offer his counsel and assistance on that occasion. The king insidiously told the count, that he considered the admiral as the most experienced soldier in his kingdom, and the man who could best advise him in an affair of such great importance; and that, should he engage in war with *Spain*, he would intrust him with the command of the army; he suspecting the other generals, (meaning the *Guises* and their faction,) because of their

holding a correspondence with that court; but that it would be proper for the admiral to come to him, in order that they might concert together, upon the measures proper to be taken in so important a juncture. Count *Nassau* going back to the admiral, was earnest with him to lay hold on this favourable opportunity, as it might raise him to the most exalted pitch of power; and enable him to serve his friends, both in *France* and in the *Netherlands*.

Q. How did the admiral act on this occasion?

A. After deliberating for some time, he resolved to set out for *Paris*. The king, on his arrival, received him with great outward marks of kindness; defrayed his expences; appointed fifty gentlemen for his guard, and admitted him into his council. He gave as amicable a reception to count *De la Rochefoucault*, *la Nouë*, and the rest of his friends; and seemed to converse as freely with these noblemen, as with any others about his court. The better to cloak his execrable design, *Schomberg* was sent to the protestant princes of *Germany*, in order to conclude an alliance with them. The negotiation with the queen of *England*, concerning her marriage with the duke of *Anjou*, was also revived; and a treaty concluded with that princess, purporting, that in case his catholic majesty should seize or detain in his harbours, the ships of either nation, (which frequently happened,) they then should mutually aid each other, in order to obtain satisfaction: and as the *Spanish* king took umbrage at these steps, and actually recalled his ambassador from the *French* court; these several circumstances firmly persuaded, both the admiral and the protestants, that the king was in earnest. But whilst preparations were making at court, for solemnizing the nuptials of the prince of *Bearn* with the king's sister; his mother, the queen of *Navarre*, was taken ill, and snatched away in a few days, not without suspicion of being poisoned. However, as it was declared, upon her being opened, that she died of an ulcer in her side, neither the admiral, nor her son (who now assumed the title of king of *Navarre*) took much notice of it. But two or three days after, as the admiral was going home, and reading a petition, he was wounded from a window, by a musket loaded with bullets; when standing still, and observing whence

whence it came;—behold (says he) the effects of my reconciliation with the duke of *Guise*! The assassin, having a horse ready, fled through one of the city gates. The king coming soon after to visit the admiral, swore that he would punish the author of so villainous an attempt; at which the admiral was so firmly persuaded of the king's sincerity, that he would not listen to his friends, who were urgent with him to retire to a place of safety. The rest of the protestants, however, were so much alarmed, that they began to consult how to defend themselves, in case they should be attacked; which coming to the ear of the queen-mother, she advised her son, the king, to hasten the blow?

Q. How did the king act?

A. A cabinet-council being held on this occasion, it was then resolved, that the admiral, and all the protestants in *France*, should be butchered, the young king of *Navarre*, and the prince of *Condé*, excepted; and that this horrid design might be the more effectually perpetrated, the duke of *Guise*, their mortal enemy, was appointed to see it put in execution. The duke never received a commission with more joy; and thereupon he ordered the prévôt of *Paris* to require the captains of the several wards to raise the citizens; and that on the ringing of the alarm-bell in the *palais*, in the night between the 23d and 24th of *August*, 1572, (*St. Bartholomew's-Day*,) they should illuminate their windows; break into the houses of the protestants; and kill them without mercy. This was done accordingly, with the utmost secrecy and dispatch.

Q. In what manner does a very celebrated *French* author* (a Roman catholic) describe this horrid massacre?

A. The nuptials (says he) of the young king of *Navarre*, with the *French* king's sister, were solemnized with pomp; and all the endearments, all the assurances of friendship, all the oaths sacred among men, were profusely lavished by *Catherine*, the queen-mother, and by the king; during which the rest of the court, thought of nothing but festivi-

* Mr. *De Voltaire*, Essay upon the Civil Wars of *France*, extracted from curious MSS;

ties, plays, and masquerades. At last, at twelve o'clock, one night, (the eve of St. Bartholomew,) the signal was given. Immediately all the houses of the protestants were forced open at once. Admiral Coligni, alarmed by the uproar, flew out of bed; when a company of assassins rushed into his bed-chamber. They were headed by one *Besme*, who had been bred up as a domestick in the family of the *Guises*. This wretch thrust his sword into the admiral's breast, and also cut him on the face. *Besme* was a *German*; and being afterwards taken by the protestants, the *Rochellers* would have bought him, in order to hang and quarter him in the great square; but he was killed by one *Bretanville* *. *Henry*, the young duke of *Guise*, who afterwards framed the catholic league, and was murdered at *Blois*, standing at the door, till the horrid butchery should be compleated, asked aloud, *Besme!* is it done? Immediately the ruffians threw the body out of the window. *Coligni* fell, and expired at *Guise's* feet. The young man trampled upon him; not that he was drunk with the furious catholic zeal of persecution, which at that time intoxicated half *France*; but he was animated by the spirit of revenge, which though, commonly, not so unmerciful as the fury of religion, yet often leads to base actions. Count *De Teligny* also fell a sacrifice. He had married, about ten months before, *Coligni's* daughter. His countenance was so sweet, that the ruffians who first advanced, in order to kill him, were struck with compassion; but others, more barbarous, rushing forward, murdered him †. In the mean time all the friends of *Coligni* were assassinated throughout *Paris*: men, women and children were promiscuously slaughtered; every street was strewed with expiring bodies. Some priests, holding up a crucifix in one hand, and a dagger in the other, ran to the chiefs of the murderers; and exhorted them, in the name of God, to spare neither relations nor friends.

Q. How does the author continue his relation?

A. *Tavannes*, marshal of *France*, an ignorant, superstitious soldier, who joined the fury of religion to the rage of party, rode on horseback through *Paris*, crying to his

* *Henriade*, (Notes.) p. 66.

† *Idem*, p. 65.

men, *Let blood! Let blood! bleeding is as wholesome in August as in May.* Tavanues had been one of the pages to Francis I. In the Memoirs, writ by his son, we are told that the father being on his death-bed, and making a general confession of his sins, the priest said to him, with surprise: "What! no mention of St. Bartholomew's massacre?" Tavanues replied; "I consider it as a meritorious action, that will wash away my other sins*." Such horrid sentiments can a false spirit of religion inspire! The king's palace was one of the chief scenes of the butchery; the king of Navarre had his lodgings in the Louvre, and all his domesticks were protestants. Many of these were killed in bed with their wives; others, flying away naked, were pursued by the soldiers on the staircases, through the several rooms of the palace, and even to the king's anti-chamber. The young wife of Henry of Navarre, awaked by the dreadful uproar, being afraid for her consort, and for her own life; seized with horror, and half dead, flew from her bed, in order to throw herself at the feet of the king her brother. Scarce had she opened her chamber-door, when some of her protestant domesticks rushed in for refuge. The soldiers entered after; pursued them in sight of the princess; and one who crept under her bed was killed there. Two others, being wounded with halberds, fell at the queen's feet, so that she was covered with blood. Count *De la Rochefoucault*, a young nobleman, greatly in the king's favour for his comely air, his politeness, and a certain peculiar happiness in the turn of his conversation, had spent the evening till eleven o'clock with the monarch, in pleasant familiarity; and had given a loose, with the utmost mirth, to the sallies of his imagination. The monarch felt some remorse; and being touched with a kind of compassion, bid him, two or three times, not to go home, but to lie in the Louvre†. *La Rochefoucault* said, that he must go to his wife; upon which the king pressed him no farther, but cried; *Let him go! I see God has decreed his death.* This young nobleman was butchered two hours after.

* *Henriade*, (Notes.) p. 68.

† *Idem*, p. 70.

Q. Did many escape the slaughter?

A. Very few; and, among these, the deliverance of young *La Forcé*, is a strange instance of what we call fate or destiny. He was but ten years old. His father, his elder brother, and himself, were seized together by the duke of *Anjou's* soldiers. These murderers flew at all three, and struck them at random; when the father and the sons, covered with blood, fell, and lay one upon another. The youngest did not receive a single blow; but making as though he was dead, escaped next day; and his life, thus wonderfully preserved, lasted fourscore and five years. He was the famous marshal *De la Forcé*. During this interval, many of these wretched victims fled to the water-side; when some swam, over the *Seine*, to the suburbs of *St. Germain*. The king saw them from his window, which looked upon the river; and (an almost incredible circumstance, but too true,) fired upon them with a carabine, which had been loaded for that purpose by one of his pages*. The queen-mother, undisturbed and serene in the midst of the slaughter, looking down from a balcony situated towards the city, encouraged the murderers, and laughed at the dying groans of the slaughtered. This barbarous queen was fired with a restless ambition, and she shifted perpetually her party in order to satiate it. She was accused of a loose commerce with certain gentlemen; and was weak enough to believe in magick, as appeared from the talismans found after her death†. Her maids of honour, and some ladies of the court, went down into the street; and with an impudent and barbarous curiosity, worthy of that abominable court, surveyed the naked and bloody body of *Soubise*, who was suspected of impotency; and had been just killed, after making a most gallant defence, under the queen's windows.

Q. What did the court after this?

A. Though reeking with the blood of the people, they yet endeavoured, some days after, to palliate an action of so much horror by forms of law. They pretended to

* *Henriade*. (Notes.) p. 71.
p. 56, 57.

† Notes on the *Henriade*,

justify the massacre by a calumny ; and accused the admiral of a conspiracy, which no one believed. The parliament was commanded to proceed against the memory of *Coligni* ; and his dead body was hung in chains at *Monfaucon* gallows. The king himself went to view this shocking spectacle ; when one of his courtiers advising him to retire, and complaining of the stench of the corps ; the king cried, (like *Vitellius*) *A dead enemy smells sweet*. Though it cannot be proved, that the admiral's head was sent to the pope, (as it certainly was, to the queen-mother, with the history of his times, in his own handwriting* ;) yet it is well known, that the massacres, on *St. Bartholomew's-Day* are painted, at *Rome*, in the royal Sallon of the Vatican, with the following inscription under the picture ; *Pontifex Colignii necem probat*. (The pope approves of *Coligni's* death.)—How justly is such a pontiff stiled, *His Holiness* !—The young king of *Navarre* was spared through policy, rather than from the pity of the queen-mother ; she keeping him prisoner, till the king's death ; in order that he might be as a security and pledge, for the submission of such protestants as might escape. That king's mother died two or three days before. This butchery was not confined merely to the city of *Paris* ; the like orders having been issued from court, to the governors of all the provinces of *France* ; so that in a week's time, above an hundred thousand protestants were cut to pieces, in different parts of the kingdom. Two or three governors only refused to obey the king's orders. One among the rest, named *Montmorin*, governor of *Auvergne*, wrote the king the following letter, which deserves to be transmitted, in characters of gold, to latest posterity.

S I R,

I have received an order, under your majesty's seal, to put to death all the protestants in my province. I have too much respect for your majesty not to believe the letter a forgery : but if (which God forbid) the order should be genuine, I have too much respect for your majesty to obey it.

* *Henriade*. (Notes.) p. 67.

These barbarities inflamed such protestants as escaped with rage rather than terror; their irreconcilable hatred to the court, supplied them with fresh vigour, and the spirit of revenge increased their strength*. The king (*Charles IX.*) under whose influence this dreadful havock had been committed, never enjoyed his health after the butchery on the eve of *St. Bartholomew*; but died in about two years, his blood gushing daily through the pores of his skin; so that he expired weltering, as it were, in his gore†. Though he might justly merit such a death, I yet am far from ascribing it to a judgment from heaven.

Q. Were all the protestants extirpated from *France*?

A. No: but many more lives were lost, occasioned by the war still continuing. However, a peace was at last concluded with the *Rochellers*; notwithstanding which, the several factions had afterwards recourse to arms, between whom there were perpetual skirmishes, in many parts of *France*. The king dying the 30th of *May 1574*, was succeeded by his brother *Henry III.*, then king of *Poland*. Scarce was he arrived in *Paris*, but he, inflamed by the queen-mother, resolved to destroy the protestants; to effect which he found it necessary to join with the *Guises*; though he hated them as much, in his heart, as the protestants. Upon this the male-contents, or politicians, (as they were termed) whose disgust at the court arose from their hatred to the *Guises*, rather than from motives of religion, joined with the protestants, by which means their united forces became very formidable; and of these marshal *Domville*, brother to duke *De Montmorenci*, was the chief. Being governor of *Languedoc*, he convened the states of that province; when he declared himself head of an association, for restoring peace to the kingdom; and exhorted all good *Frenchmen* to join with him; in order for obtaining a meeting of the estates of the realm, for redress of grievances. Immediately a war broke out, in all the provinces, between the royalists and the *Guises*, on one side; and the protestants and politicians on the other. Not a day passed without skirmishes,

* All the above particulars are from *Voltaire*,
(Notes.) p. 76.

† *Idem, ibid.*

† *Henriade*:

and the taking or retaking of some towns; so that *France* was now become a scene of blood and confusion. About this time the cardinal of *Lorrain* died. After a variety of events, a treaty was concluded, between the king and his enemies; by which it was stipulated, among other articles, that the protestants and male-contents should be allowed eight towns more for their security; should be indulged the free exercise of their religion in all places, *Paris* excepted, and two leagues round it; that the courts of justice should be composed of protestants as well as of popish judges; and that the attainder of admiral *Coligni*, with others of his party, should be reversed, &c.

Q. Did this edict of pacification put an end to the troubles?

A. It only exasperated the papists still more, who thereupon entered into a confederacy for the extirpation of heresy, as they called it, and for the preservation of their religion. This confederacy was termed, *The Holy League*, or simply the *League*, of which *Henry*, duke of *Guise*, though he did not yet appear, was the soul, and *Philip II.* of *Spain* the great friend, as also the pope. Not long after, the king of *France*, and the states published an edict, forbidding any toleration of the protestants; by which it was also enacted, that their preachers, deacons, and elders should depart the kingdom within a limited time, notwithstanding any former edicts to the contrary. War was then carried on again; but, in 1577, a peace was concluded. There were other ruptures. The leaguers involved the king in great troubles, they forcing him to declare war against the protestants, and driving him from *Paris*. The king afterwards caused the duke of *Guise* to be murdered. This nobleman being come to court, and attending in the anti-chamber; one of the secretaries of state informed him, that the king wanted to speak with him, in his closet. The duke going thither, as he was lifting up the hangings, he received six stabs from the guards, who were drawn up on each side, upon pretence of doing him honour; so that he had but just time to cry, *Lord have mercy upon me!* The king, being informed that he was dispatched, went out of his closet; when the court-lords being assembled, he told them that he was

now king ; and bid his enemies learn, by the example made of the duke of *Guise*, that the like vengeance hung over their heads, should they presume to check his authority. About this time the bloody queen-mother, *Catherine of Medicis*, left the world. The death of the abovementioned nobleman only fired the *Parisians* of the league still more against their sovereign ; so that their preachers and others inveighed most bitterly against him, as one excommunicated, a heretick, and the most detestable of mortals. Duke *Du Maine* was then declared head of the league ; when the king, joining himself with the king of *Navarre*, and the protestants, they marched and besieged *Paris*. But whilst the king of *France* was in his quarters at *St. Cloud*, *James Clement* a young Dominican friar, at the instigation of the preachers of *Paris*, assassinated the king with a knife he drew out of his sleeve, as a favourer of hereticks ; and thus put an end to his life, the 2d of *August*, 1589. *Clement* had taken priests orders just before he committed the murder * ; previous to which, he likewise fasted, went to confession, and received the sacrament †. Being suspected, by some persons, on his arrival at *St. Cloud*, they watched him, and found him in a sound sleep, with his breviary near him, open at the article of *Judith* ‡. The *Parisian* leaguers were so audacious, that upon *James Clement's* being cut to pieces, by the guards after the assassination, they printed and sold publickly, not long after, a piece intitled, *A Relation of the Martyrdom of Brother James Clement*. It was therein asserted, that an angel had appeared to *Clement* ; had shewn him a naked sword, and commanded him to slay the tyrant ||.

Q What religion did *Henry IV.* profess, at the time of his accession ?

A. The protestant ; but his popish courtiers earnestly conjured him to turn Roman catholick. The king not complying immediately with their request, the leaguers grew outrageous ; and being headed by duke *Du Maine*, engaged the king, but were repulsed with very great loss.

* *Henriade*. (Notes.) page 123.

† *Idem*, page 128.

|| *Idem*, page 127.

† *Idem*, page 129.

His majesty afterwards besieged *Paris*, but was forced to retire. The leaguers, by this time, thinking it necessary to have a monarch of their own, set up *Charles*, cardinal of *Bourbon*; a decrepit old man, uncle to *Henry IV*, the next in blood to the crown, in case the protestant princes should be excluded. The cardinal was stiled *Charles X.* by his partizans. The king of *Spain* was deeply concerned in all these machinations; but afterwards that monarch, and duke *Du Maine*, quarrelled. The council of sixteen in *Paris*, and all the furious part of the leaguers, were in the interest of *Spain*; whilst the parliament and the politicians, (so the more moderate were termed,) followed the counsels of duke *Du Maine*. This occasioning divisions, the duke dissolved the council of sixteen; and assumed the exercise of the whole regal power, by the title of lieutenant of the kingdom. The king and the duke engaging afterwards, (*March 14, 1590.*) at *Ivry*, the latter was entirely defeated. His majesty then besieged *Paris*, which made a most vigorous resistance; (the inhabitants eating cats, dogs, rats, leather, and making a sort of bread of dead men's bones;) and being relieved by the duke of *Parma*, king *Henry* was obliged to draw off his troops. During this siege, the friars exhibited a spectacle, which, though ridiculous in itself, was yet of use to animate the people. The former made a kind of military muster, marching in rank and file, wearing rusty armour over their cowls, having at their head the image of the virgin *Mary*; wielding swords, and crying, *They were all ready to fight, and to die in defence of the faith*: so that the citizens, who saw their confessors in arms, firmly believed, that they fought for the cause of God *. During this, the civil war had been carried on in other parts of *France*, so that the inhabitants were grievously harassed. About this time died cardinal *De Bourbon*. The council of sixteen in *Paris*, acting in the most arbitrary manner, the inhabitants sent and intreated duke *Du Maine* to succour them; and he coming accordingly, hanged four or five of the council above mentioned, in the Sallon of the Louvre. During this interval, king *Henry IV.* had been powerfully

* Essay on the Civil Wars, p. 23.

assisted by queen *Elizabeth*, and as strongly opposed by the king of *Spain*.

2. What steps did *Henry* take, in order to quiet these dreadful commotions?

A. He turned Roman catholick, *July 25, 1593*; which greatly alarming the protestants, he promised, under his hand, that to whatever straits the necessity of his affairs might reduce him, they should not fail to be secured, in the profession of their faith and liberties, agreeably to former edicts; upon which many cities declared for him, and a truce was concluded between the royalists and the leaguers. Afterwards *Paris*, *Roan*, and other cities submitted to the king; and the duke of *Guise* was reconciled to him. However, one of the popish male-contents thinking it meritorious to kill his majesty, attempted to stab him in the presence-chamber, but only struck out one of his teeth. The assassin being examined, it was found that he had been educated among the *Jesuits*; upon which they were all banished the kingdom, by an edict. Duke *Du Maine* still opposed the king, as likewise duke *De Mercoeur*, so that the commotions continued; but in *1596*, the former noblemen, and others, made their submission to his majesty; he granting them very advantageous conditions, in order to give peace to his distracted subjects. The league being totally destroyed, by the submission of duke *De Mercoeur*; his majesty, during his stay at *Nantes*, the capital of *Britany*, in order to content the protestants in some measure, published the famous irrevocable (as it was called by the *French* protestants) edict of *Nantes*, *Anno 1598*, whereby they were secured in the free exercise of their religion, in all parts of *France*; (*Paris*, and its neighbourhood excepted *.) This edict was granted to the protestants, as a reward for their services, in having raised the house of *Bourbon* to the throne of *France*. But it was revoked, in *1685*, by *Lewis XIV.* About the year *1600*, *France* was freed from wars both domestic and foreign. King *Henry's* reign was afterwards disturbed by many plots, most of them contrived by priests, or bigotted papists among the laity; and a period put to it by one

* Preface to *Plaintes des Protestans*, p. 8.

Ravaillac, a friar. This wretch stabbed his majesty to the heart, *May* 14, 1610, as he was riding in his coach through one of the streets of *Paris*; *Ravaillac* was supposed to have been prompted to it, from a horrid spirit of enthusiasm, which made him conclude that the king was not sincerely a papist. He had imbibed a notion, that it is lawful for any private man to kill his prince, who is an enemy to the pope; he telling his judges, that to make war against the pope, was to make war against God; because the pope is God, and God is the pope.—(Admirable doctrine this!)—He afterwards was broke alive upon the wheel, after being made to suffer inexpressible torments.

Q. What were the most material transactions, relative to religion, under *Lewis XIII.* successor of *Henry IV*?

A. The queen-mother, *Mary of Medicis*, being appointed regent, during her son's minority, confirmed, by a proclamation, the edict of *Nantes*; and the protestants were permitted to hold their general assemblies, wherein they used to draw up representations of their grievances; in one whereof, met at *Saumur*, there were great contests and feuds; particularly between duke *De Sully* and marshal *Bouillon*; on which occasion the famous *Du Plessis Mornay* was chosen president of the assembly. Afterwards provincial assemblies used to meet, at which the court was offended; and the protestants were abridged in some of their privileges. In 1620, the court formed a resolution to extirpate the protestants; for which purpose the king marched into *Bearn*, where he ordered mass to be said in all the principal churches of that province. The next year, duke *D'Espernon* marched against them, whereupon all the protestants of *Bearn* fled to the mountains; their churches, in several towns, having been burnt by the popish mobs with impunity. The protestants, upon this, summoning a general assembly to consult for their defence; the king commanded them to break up, which they refusing, it was construed rebellion. Immediately a war broke out, on all sides, about *Anno* 1622. During this interval the protestants were deserted by most of their chiefs, which reduced their affairs to a low ebb. A great part of *France* was destroyed, by the havock making perpetually by one or the other party.

party. This war was very bloody. The town of *Negrepelisse*, in particular, having been taken by the royalists; the king ordered all the people in the town, and in the castle, to be butchered, the women excepted; though these were exposed to the brutality of the soldiers. However, a peace was afterwards concluded. Some time hence, the protestants of *Rochelle*, being disgusted at the court, for not observing all the articles of the late peace, fitted out a fleet in order to make reprisals. *Rochelle* was blocked up by the royalists, in 1626; but, making it's submission, good terms were allowed. It afterwards sustained a long siege, which was first commanded by the king, in person; and then by the famous *Richelieu*, though an ecclesiastick; the besieged being assisted by our king *Charles I.* The *Rochellers* made a glorious defence, and fifteen thousand of them perished by famine; so that, at last, being quite exhausted, they surrendered, upon condition of obtaining a general pardon; and security for their lives, liberties and estates. The walls and fortifications were afterwards demolished. It is agreed on all hands, that the taking of *Rochelle* struck the greatest blow, both to the civil liberties of *France*, and to the protestant religion in that country; for no sooner were the protestants disarmed, and their cities (of which this was the most considerable) reduced; but the court became able to impose what conditions soever they pleased upon the people: whereas, before this period, whenever the ministry committed any acts of tyranny, the people, by the aid of the protestants, were commonly able to make a stand, and defend their liberties. Hence the *English* may be taught, not to exchange protestantism for popery, unless they are indifferent as to that greatest of blessings, freedom; for the man, (cardinal *Richelieu*,) who was so bitter an enemy to the protestants in *France*, and robbed them of all their strength, was the very person who reduced their parliaments to a mere shadow, by annihilating their power. Still numberless eulogiums are bestowed on this cardinal's great piety and goodness. A most noble marble mausoleum (which I have seen) by *Girardon*, the famous sculptor, is erected to *Richelieu*'s memory in the Sorbonne at *Paris*. That prelate is seen half reclined, supported by a figure
repré-

representing *Religion*; and, at his feet, another expressive of *Science*, in deep affliction. Behind are two genius's, or boys, weeping, and supporting the arms of the *Richelieu* family. In the vault, under this monument, was a long epitaph on the cardinal, engraved on a brass plate, containing the following unjust, ostentatious particulars, among others. *He made kings tremble; and had not justice directed all his designs, he might have raised his sovereign to most thrones.—As he was always just, he was invincible.—The greatness of the events justified the integrity of his intentions.—He confounded HERESY, and religion [this was but too true] by the taking of Rochelle; that proud city which was considered as impregnable; and by the reduction of more than two hundred towns, which had long divided the regal authority.—The glory of his pious treatises, for the instruction and perfection of Christians, and the conversion of hereticks, surpasses that of his conquests; the strength of his genius having united, in him, two things which was judged incompatible, viz. religion, and the art of government.—He died as he had lived, great, invincible, glorious; and, as the noblest of all honours, was swept by his king **. What credit after this can be given to panegyricks? It must be confessed that this minister possessed very great qualities, but he applied them to a very bad use; he having imbrewed his hands in the blood of the nobility; oppressed the people with heavy taxes; subverted the liberties and privileges of his country; and fomented wars and rebellions in most kingdoms in *Europe*.

Q. Were no other hostilities committed on account of religion, under *Lewis XIII*?

A. Whilst the king was taken up with the siege of *Rochelle*, the prince of *Condé*, and duke *De Montmorenci*, headed (each of them) a body of troops, in *Languedoc*, against duke *De Rohan*, and the protestants who were in arms there. The royalists being greatly superior to their enemies, ravaged the country; and used the ill-fated protestants, in the open towns, with great barbarity. In

* Description de la Ville de Paris, par G. Bricé, Tom. ii. p. 416, & seq. Paris, 1713, 12mo.

1629, the king being returned with his army, from *Italy*, where he had restored the duke of *Mantua* to his dominions; marched into *Languedoc*, in order to put an end to the protestant war. Duke *De Roban* was now chief general of the protestants. The royalists besieging *Privas*, in the *Vivarez*, found a most obstinate resistance; when the besieged neglecting to capitulate, till all their works were taken; they were forced to surrender at discretion; so that most of them were either cut to pieces, or executed in cold blood. The royal army marched afterwards to the *Cevennes*, and were victorious there also. At last, cardinal *Richelieu*, upon these various successes, prevailed with duke *De Roban* to submit to the king; promising him, and the rest of the protestants, a pardon; with security for their religion and estates, upon condition that they should demolish the fortifications of such cities as were still in their power. The protestants reflecting on the lowness of their circumstances, thought fit to comply: whereupon a treaty was signed at *Alets*, June 27, 1629. Duke *De Roban* left the kingdom, with his majesty's leave, and retired to *Venice*. Soon after, the fortifications of the protestant towns being demolished, in pursuance of the said treaty; cardinal *Richelieu* made his triumphant entry into *Montauban*. The protestants having thus given up their cities of security; and being wholly dependant on the pleasure of the ministry, who never kept a promise with them, except when they thought it for their advantage, their party decreased insensibly: and, notwithstanding the submission, and the ready obedience they ever had shewn to the commands of their sovereign, he was perpetually endeavouring to ruin them; upon a notion, that he was bound in conscience to do so, whenever an opportunity should present itself; but their destruction was not completed, till the repeal of the famous edict of *Nantes*, under his successor *Lewis XIV*; an edict granted to maintain the protestants, in all those rights and privileges, which nature and civil society indulge mankind.

Q. Did the protestants occasion any disturbance in his reign?

A. No:

A. No: so far from it, that it is notorious they *, during the civil war, which broke out soon after that monarch was seated on the throne, gave him the highest demonstration of their attachment; a circumstance which the king himself acknowledged in a declaration published *Anno* 1652: not to mention that the queen-mother confessed, that they had saved the state. But this very circumstance, which should have won them the utmost favour, proved their ruin; by it's being wickedly represented, to his majesty, that as the protestants, by their weight and influence, had done him such signal services; it was also in their power to overturn the government; and from this reflexion, a most horrid political resolution was formed, at court; *viz.* to even extirpate them, if possible. Immediately *Rochelle, Montauban, Millau*, and all such protestant cities as had shewn the greatest zeal for the king, were made to feel the most fatal effects of his vengeance. After this a thousand machinations and artifices were daily employed against them; and these were continued during twenty years, till their destruction was completed.

2. Enumerate the chief methods or engines set at work for this purpose.

A. They may be reduced to six †. 1. Prosecutions and chicanery in the ordinary course of justice. 2. Exclusion from posts or preferments of every kind, as well as from all methods of getting a livelihood. 3. Infringement of the edict of *Nantes*, under colour of explications. 4. New laws, or new regulations. 5. Fraudful and illusive measures. 6. Rouzing the people, and firing them with hatred against the protestants.—These were the chief methods, employed by the persecutors, during several years, in order to attain their ends. A long time was requisite, in order to dispose and bring matters to a head; not to mention the disappointments which the court met

* *Les Plaintes des Protestans, cruellement opprimez dans le royaume de France*, p. 7, & *seq.* Cologne, chez Pierre Marteau, 1686, 12mo. This treatise was writ by the celebrated Mr. *Claude*, and his last work. See father *Niceron's Memoirs pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres*, Tom. x. Part ii. p. 311. Paris 1731. † *Idem*, p. 11, & *seq.*

with, and the interruptions occasioned by the civil wars; the issue of which, in their favour, increased their courage, and confirmed them still more in their detestable views. During all these machinations, the protestants, dreading the storm that was likely to break over their heads, were not idle; but endeavoured, with inexpressible pains, to defend themselves so far as was consistent with equity. But all this was to no purpose, although they had carried their complaints even to the throne.

Q. When did the court first throw off the mask, and employ open force?

A. About the year 1684 *, at which time soldiers were spread all over *France*; particularly the dragoons, these being the boldest and most resolute of all the king's troops. Before them marched terror, with its hated train; and as the king now declared, that he would no longer permit any protestants in his kingdoms, an universal panick seized those who were to be the ill-fated victims. The dragoons began with *Bearn*; after which the other provinces of the kingdom, (not excepting the city of *Paris*,) had their sad share of these calamities. The first thing enjoined the various intendants, or comptrollers of the provinces was, for them to summon the several cities and corporations; when they, assembling accordingly all such inhabitants as were protestants, acquainted them with his majesty's will, viz. that they must immediately turn Roman catholicks; and that, in case of refusal, force would be employed. The unhappy protestants, thunderstruck with such an alternative, replied, that they were ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for his majesty; but that, as God had a right over their consciences, they could not dispose of it in this manner.

Q. What were the effects of such answers?

A. Instantly the dragoons †, who were not far off, marched up; when they immediately seized upon all the avenues to, and the gates of the several cities. Next guards were posted in all the roads; and the dragoons often marched into towns, sword in hand, crying, in a rage,

* *Plaintes des Protestans*, p. 66, & seq.

† *Idem*, p. 69,

Turn catholicks ! or die ! These dragoons, being quartered in the houses of the protestants, where they were to live at discretion ; strictly commanded all persons not to quit their homes, nor to secure their goods or effects, upon severe penalties ; and forbidding all Roman catholicks harbouring, or assisting them, in any manner. These tyrants used to pass the first days, in devouring all the provision of their respective hosts ; and in tearing from them, (had these been even in their bowels) all their money, rings, jewels, and every thing of value. They next exposed every family to plunder ; and invited, not only the papists of the place, but likewise all those of the neighbouring towns and villages, to come and purchase, of them, all the clothes, furniture, and other things of which they might stand in need.

Q. What was the next step ?

A. They then fell upon their persons ; on which occasion they employed every cruelty, in order to oblige them to apostatize from their religion. These blood thirsty dragoons, with shouts, oaths, and blasphemies, would hang men and women, by the hair of the head ; or, by the feet, to the ceilings of rooms. They fastened them, like so many criminals who are put to the torture ; when, by means of a funnel, they poured wine down their throats ; till such times as the fumes of the liquor, intoxicating and depriving them of their reason, they consented to abjure their religion. They beat them with clubs ; and, after bruising them all over, dragged them to the popish churches ; when their forced presence was considered as an abjuration. They deprived them of their sleep, during seven or eight days together ; the persecutors relieving one another, in order to watch them day and night ; and keep them awake, either by throwing water in their faces ; by tormenting them a thousand ways ; or by holding, over their heads, brass kettles, on which they used to make a horrid din, till these victims had quite lost their senses. Whenever they found men or women, confined to their beds in burning fevers, they had the barbarity to get together a great many drummers, who beat round their beds during weeks together, without ceasing, till the sufferers gave their word to abjure the protestant faith. In some places
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they fastened fathers and husbands to bed-posts ; when they ravished their wives and daughters, before them, with impunity.

2. Proceed in these persecutions.

A. In case any persons, after such horrid treatment, still refused to turn, they were imprisoned ; and thrown into dark, loathsome, infected dungeons, where every cruelty was exercised upon them. In the mean time their houses were pulled down, their lands laid waste, their timber felled, and their wives and daughters thrown into convents. When the dragoons had devoured every thing in a gentleman's house in the country, the farmers supplied them with necessaries ; and these, in order to indemnify themselves, used to sell, (by authority,) the goods and chattels of such gentlemen ; and often purchase them for their own use. If any persons, for conscience sake, and to escape the tyranny of those barbarians, fled from their abode, they were pursued through the fields and woods, and shot at like so many wild beasts. For this purpose the sheriff's officers were commanded to scour the country ; and the magistrates, in the several districts, were ordered to seize them indiscriminately. They then were carried back to the places they came from, and treated as prisoners of war. All this shocking usage was not confined merely to people in low life ; persons of the highest distinction being treated in the same manner. Their lands were ravaged ; and their houses, both in town and country, plundered, and razed to the ground ; their woods cut down ; their children carried off ; and their persons exposed to the inhumanity of the dragoons. Neither age, sex nor quality were spared, whenever the command, for turning papist, was not complied with ; the same violence being practised universally. Some persons who had employments in the parliaments, were used in the like inhuman manner ; and many officers ordered, from their posts, to return home, and treated like the rest. Several persons of quality, and others, fled to *Paris*, or the court, in hopes of meeting with protection there ; instead of which, they were ordered to return, in four days, to their respective homes ; and all persons forbid, upon very severe penalties, to harbour them ; and others who pre-
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sented petitions to the king, were sent to the *Bastille*, and cruelly persecuted there. These things were done openly: but the Romanists put to death great numbers secretly, besides those who rotted and perished in loathsome dungeons. Some they transported to *Canada*, (as they falsely declared;) but really drowned most of them, when they were got some leagues out at sea; and if any proceeded so far as *Canada*, they perished in dungeons there. In a word, such a variety of other torments were inflicted, on the *French* protestants, that only God, and themselves, knew them all *.

Q. What particulars are worthy of notice, with regard to the manner of carrying on these persecutions?

A. In † almost all the provinces of *France*, there marched, at the head of these infernal legions, (besides the military commanders,) the intendants and bishops, in their respective dioceses, with crowds of missionaries, priests, and friars. The intendants used to see the orders of the court executed in their full rigour; and would rouse the dragoons to farther cruelty, if any of them happened to be moved with compassion. The missionaries, friars, &c. would excite and encourage the dragoons, to execute a command which was so pleasing to the church; and so glorious (as they declared) to God and the king. With respect to the bishops, they assisted merely to keep open table; to receive the abjurations; and to be as so many severe, general inspectors; in order that every thing might be executed agreeably to the intention and inclination of the popish clergy. Farther, whenever a party of dragoons, had forced, by their cruelties, some protestants to comply; the former were sent to, and quartered in the houses of such as still stood out; by which means, those protestants, who resisted longest, were quite ruined, by the great number of soldiers quartered upon them. Again, before the dragoons were sent to any considerable town, the inhabitants had privately taken care, to win over several protestants to the popish religion; who promised to assist in corrupting their brethren, so soon as the soldiers should

* *Wars of the Cevennes*, p. 4, 5.
Protestants, p. 78, & seq.

† *Les Plaintes des*
arrive.

arrive. Fourthly, when any master of a family, in order to prevent the dragoons from being quartered upon him, turned Roman catholick; in case any of his family refused to follow his example, or fled; those military tyrants would come and live at discretion in his house. Fifthly, when some protestants had signed a gentle form of abjuration, which they imagined might be done with a safe conscience; a few days after, another, infinitely more explicit, was brought, and, (a most impudent circumstance,) they therein were made to declare, that they embraced the Romish religion freely, and without compulsion. Having proceeded thus far, if such persons made any difficulty to go to mass; if they did not receive the sacrament; assist at processions; go to confession; say their beads; or if they, by any involuntary sign, discovered the least reluctance, they were loaded with fines, and the dragoons were again-quartered upon them. Lastly, whilst the soldiers were thus laying waste the provinces; the frontiers and ports were so strictly watched, that few protestants could escape out of the kingdom. Not one of them had leave to depart. The most exact search was made on board of foreign ships; the coasts, the bridges, the passages of rivers, and the highways were guarded; the night was not more favourable than the day; and some neighbouring states were ordered not to give shelter to any more protestants, but to send back those who had already fled to them; and attempts were even made, to carry off some out of foreign countries.

2. All this having been done, preparatory to the revocation of the edict of *Nantes*, when was it repealed *?

A. The revocation was published by another edict, dated *October 18, 1685*. In this edict, after the preamble, wherein the court endeavours to prove, (but very iniquitously) that there was no farther occasion for the edict of *Nantes*; the king, by the first article of the new edict, revokes the former in all it's parts; and commands all the protestant churches, throughout his dominions, to be instantly demolished. Secondly, he prohibits every assembly, for exercising the said religion. Thirdly, all

* *Les Plaintes des Protestans*, p. 85.

noblemen or lords of manors are forbid to follow that worship, upon pain of imprisonment, and confiscation of their estates. Fourthly, all protestant clergymen are to quit the kingdom, in a fortnight after the publication of this edict, upon pain of being sent to the gallies. Fifthly and sixthly, rewards and advantages are promised to such clergymen, or their widows, as shall become converts to popery. Seventhly and eighthly, no children are to be educated in the protestant religion; and all children, born afterwards, shall be baptized, and brought up in the Romish faith; and all parents are enjoined to send them to the popish churches, upon the penalty of five hundred livres. Ninthly, four months are allowed those who may have left the kingdom to return to it; upon failure of which, their possessions are to be confiscated. Tenthly, all protestants, their wives and children, are forbid to quit the kingdom, or carry off their effects; upon pain of the gallies, to the men; and imprisonment, and confiscation of their possessions, to the women. Eleventhly, the declarations formerly published, with regard to relapsed hereticks, are confirmed. Twelfthly, the rest of the protestants, till such time as heaven may think fit to enlighten them, shall be permitted to reside in the kingdom; there to follow their several trades and professions; and enjoy their possessions, without being molested, upon pretence of their being protestants; provided they shall not perform any exercise, or hold any meetings, in order to pray, or perform any religious worship in their way different from the Romish.

Q. What were the consequences of the revocation of the edict of *Nantes* * ?

A. The very day it was published, the government began by demolishing the noble protestant church at *Charenton* †. The oldest protestant minister ‡ was commanded to leave *Paris* in twenty-four hours, and the kingdom forthwith. For this purpose, he was committed to the guard of one of his majesty's footmen; with orders not to leave him, till he had passed the frontiers. His colleagues met

* *Les Plaintes des Protestans*, p. 92, &c. seq.
village near *Paris*.
of *Plaintes des Protestans*.

† It is 27

‡ This was Mr. *Claude* himself, the author

with scarce better treatment; the rest of the clergymen were allowed a fortnight: but, during this interval, they were exposed to numberless vexations and cruelties. In the first place, they were not permitted to sell any part of their estates, nor to carry off any of their goods or effects. Their books and manuscripts were even contested them. Farther, their tyrants would not allow them the assistance of father, mother, brother, sister, or any of their relations; though many were helpless and poor, and unable to subsist without their succour. Their own children, of seven years of age or older, were denied them; and even those under seven, and who sucked at their mother's breasts: and nurses, for their children just born, were refused them. In some frontier places they were stoppt, and imprisoned on ridiculous pretences: such as the obliging them to prove themselves the identical persons specified in the certificates; the enquiring, whether they were not subject to some criminal information or prosecution; and obliging them to prove, that they did not carry off effects belonging to their respective congregations. Sometimes, after thus detaining and amusing these ministers, they were told that the fifteen days, allowed by the edict, were expired; that they were no longer at liberty to quit the kingdom, but must go to the gallies. In a word, every chicane, every iniquity was employed, in order to grieve them.

Q. How were the laity treated * ?

A. Words could never describe the perils to which they were exposed, whom the rage of persecution forced from their dwellings, their possessions, and even their native country. Never were severer orders given, nor more strictly put in execution, than those enacted against these unhappy protestants. The government commanded guards to be again posted at the several ports, towns, highways, and passages of rivers; all the provinces were overspread with soldiers; and even the peasants were armed, and commanded to stop all persons who should attempt to escape; and, in case of opposition, to treat them ill. All custom-houses were

* Les Plaintes des Protestans, p. 95, & seq.

forbid, to enter, or to let pass, any clothes, goods, merchandises, or other effects, belonging to the protestants. In a word, every artifice was made use of, to prevent the escape of these unhappy victims; insomuch that almost all correspondence, with the neighbouring countries, was cut off. By this means, the several prisons in the kingdom were soon crouded: for the panic raised, in the protestants, by the dragoons; the horrors they felt, on the reflection that their consciences would be forced; the dread of seeing their children torn from them; as well as their being compelled to reside in a country, where they were treated with the greatest injustice and inhumanity; obliged every one to think seriously of retiring, and to leave their effects, in order to save their persons. Such as were committed to prison, have been used with unheard of rigour; have been thrust into dungeons; loaded with heavy chains; almost starved; and deprived of all conversation, except that of their persecutors. Several were thrust into convents, and treated, in them, with no less cruelty. Some were so happy as to expire under their tortures; others sunk, at last, under the weight of the temptation; whilst others again, by the extraordinary aid of heaven, resisted them with a courage truly heroic.

Q. It seems, therefore, that the twelfth article of the new edict, by which it is declared, that protestants * shall be permitted to live unmolested in *France*, was not observed?

A. Not in the least; none of the dragoons, or other soldiers, who had been sent into the provinces, before the edict, have been recalled; so far from it, they still practice † barbarities like to those already described; and have also been sent into other provinces. Even *Paris* has been as roughly treated; though one would imagine, that the article in question of the edict, would have been more strictly observed there, as that city is beneath the king's eye, as it were; and almost immediately under the government of the court. The very day the edict in question

* *Plaintes des Protestans*, p. 98, & seq.

† This book was printed in 1685, at the time that these cruelties were exercising.

was published, the attorney general, and some other magistrates, sent orders to the masters of protestant families, in *Paris*, to attend him. Being come, he told them in plain terms, that the king would allow of no other religion, besides the Romish, in his dominions; and therefore that they must turn catholicks voluntarily, or they should be forced to it. At the same time, the elders of the consistories were drove from *Paris*, and treated very cruelly. One of the secretaries of state also, sending for above an hundred tradesmen of that city, and they being come; he ordered the hall door to be shut; and then declared, that not one of them should stir, till after they had signed an instrument, whereby they not only abjured the heresy of *Calvin*, but acknowledged that they had done this voluntarily; and so many menaces were employed, that they all set their hands. But far more severe methods were employed, such as imprisonment, the seizure of effects and papers, the carrying off children, the separation of husbands and wives; and, lastly, the great engine, I mean the dragoons. The most courageous were committed to the prison, called *Fort l'Eveque* in *Paris*; others were confined at home; and many had their houses stript, and their persons seized. Thus this twelfth article, which promised some mitigation, was an abominable snare, spread to catch the credulous; and to prevent their contriving, how to best escape from *France*. The rage of the persecutors went on in it's usual course; and rose to such a height, that, not satisfied with laying waste the kingdom, it spread to *Orange*, a sovereign principality, in which the king of *France* has no lawful authority. There they carried off several protestant clergymen, and threw them into prison. Thither were sent the dragoons, who practised cruelties of every kind; compelling, by the most violent methods, men, women, children, and even the officers of the prince of *Orange*, to change their religion.

Q. What number of persons might suffer by this persecution?

A. Above five hundred thousand families were plundered * by the armies of dragoons; and, in 1685, spite

* *Plaintes des Protestans*, p. 182.

of the vigilance of the government, above one hundred and fifty thousand persons had escaped out of *France*, as three hundred and fifty did afterwards *. These abandoned their dwellings †, their inheritances, their effects; and many their wives and children, to go and wander up and down the world, and lead a life of misery. Many persons of distinction, of both sexes, possessing estates of twelve, fifteen, twenty, and thirty thousand livres a year; voluntarily gave up those estates, not only for themselves, but likewise for their posterity; exposing themselves to the inconveniences and dangers, of a long flight, in a severe season; and reducing themselves almost to beggary, which, of all conditions, is the most insupportable to men of honour. A prodigious number of persons, of all ranks, fled to *England*, *Germany*, *Switzerland*, *Holland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and even *America*. Notwithstanding which, the prisons were crowded with fugitives ‡, who had been seized. To prevent other protestants, who had become converts to popery, from escaping, such were obliged to lay down a sum of money, as a security for their stay: not to mention the infamy with which the bodies of those who died protestants were treated, they being refused burial; were thrown upon dunghills; or dragged ignominiously on hurdles §. Nevertheless their persecutors added this farther inhumanity, viz. to spread a most injurious report, that the protestants themselves had desired the dragoons might be sent for, in order to have a pretence ¶ for their turning Roman catholicks. In 1675, (and before,) a sort of banks were openly set up, in *Paris*, for trafficking souls; and many got considerable sums by this infamous practice. The becoming a convert to popery, was almost the only way left for a man to obtain regard, applause, court-favour, and to make his fortune. Thus was the famous edict of *Nantes* repealed, though granted by *Henry IV*, in 1598, in the clearest and most solemn manner, and after the most mature deliberation ¶, not only for himself, but for all his successors; and rendered sacred and divine, as it were, by the reciprocal oath of the whole kingdom. The observation ** of

* *Plaintes des Protestans*, p. 104.

† *Idem*, 173.

‡ *Idem*, 106.

§ *Idem*, p. 191.

** *Idem*, 113.

† *Idem*, p. 171.

§ *Idem*, p. 174.

the tenor of this edict was become a fundamental law of the kingdom; * a condition inseparable from the succession; it being granted as a promise authentic, perpetual and irrevocable; as a decree flowing from the justice of *Henry IV*, after both parties had been heard; a compact between the Romanists and protestants, authorized by the public faith of the whole state, sealed with an oath, and ratified by the execution †; an edict inviolable and irrevocable in its nature; out of the reach of all human power; made as a perpetual treaty between the protestants and Romanists; a public promise, and a fundamental law of the state, which no authority can infringe ‡. *Lewis XIV*, therefore, in repealing this edict, broke through one of the most solemn engagements made at several times by himself, and by his father; who also granted the edict of *Nismes* ||. Consequently *Lewis XIV*, in thus sporting with this reciprocal agreement §, broke through all the ties of justice, of fidelity and conscience; and paid no regard to heaven, to his country, or to himself. However, to give some little colour to the repeal, it was pretended, that the edict of *Nantes* was grown useless; as the best and greatest part of the protestants were become converts to popery. But how were they made such? By force of arms, and by the cruel and furious barbarity of the royal dragoons ¶.—But the above subterfuge is unworthy of a king.

2. Does it not, therefore, appear, that the protestants of *France* were both greatly abused, and barbarously treated on occasion of this repeal **?

A. Most certainly. *Henry IV*. grants this edict to the protestants, with all the solemnity above mentioned. He gives it as a reward for their services; he promises, in the most awful manner, to observe the tenor of it; and to confirm this, engages the state in the same compact. Not satisfied with this, he takes an oath; and afterwards causes it to be observed in the best manner he could, during his whole reign. *Lewis XIII*, his son, immediately after his accession, acknowledges the edict of *Nantes* as perpetual,

* *Plaintes des Protestans*, p. 140.

† *Idem*, p. 192.

¶ *Idem*, p. 116.

|| *Idem*, p. 108.

** *Idem*, p. 120.

† *Idem*, p. 145.

§ *Idem*, p. 115.

irrevocable, and not standing in need of confirmation; and promises to adhere religiously to every article and circumstance therein. He sends commissioners into all parts of his kingdom, to compleat the due execution thereof. When he has recourse to arms, he declares that it is no ways his design to annoy the protestants in any manner; and, indeed, he permits them to follow their worship, even in such cities as he takes by storm. He grants the edict of *Nismes*, as a triumphant king; and yet therein declares, that it is his intention the edict of *Nantes* shall be duly observed; which it was accordingly, so long as he sat on the throne. *Lewis XIV.*, on his succeeding to the crown, confirms the edict; and declares that he will maintain the protestants in all their privileges. He afterwards testifies, by another declaration, how highly satisfied he was with their services; and that it is his intention they shall live in the full enjoyment of their rights. Yet all this was an artifice to entrap them; a snare spread merely to cover the resolution he had formed, to ruin them, the instant an opportunity should offer. But what idea does this give to foreign nations of the kings of *France*? and what confidence shall hereafter be reposed in their promises and their treaties?—If they conduct themselves in this manner towards their own subjects; if they care for them, in no other view than to destroy, what can foreigners hope from such princes?

2 Did not *Lewis XIV.* owe the most signal obligations to his protestant subjects, as was hinted*?

A. They had done him the most important services during the course of the civil war: they had observed an inviolable fidelity, at the time that a great part of his other subjects had taken up arms against him: they opposed the progress of his enemies; rejected the advantageous offers made themselves; preserved cities, and whole provinces, to his allegiance; took his officers and servants into their bosoms, at a time when they could not meet with shelter any where else. For his sake they sacrificed their lives and fortunes. In a word, they performed, with exemplary zeal, all that good subjects could do in the most dangerous

* *Plaintes des Protestans*, p. 124.

times. And yet it appeared, that the king meditated at this very juncture, a design to ruin and extirpate them. The protestants, in thus doing their duty, were far from imagining that it would be imputed to them for a crime; or that destruction would rush upon them, from that very quarter whence they hoped for protection and defence. The Almighty brought light out of darkness; but the politicians of *France*, on the contrary, bring darkness out of light. However this be, it cannot be denied but that the king is made to say, in this new edict, that he had projected a design to destroy his protestant subjects, at the very instant that they had signalized and distinguished themselves with great success, in favour of his crown. This possibly may suggest many reflections to the wise, both within and without the kingdom; may prove to them the use that is made of services, and the reward they may expect for them. Certain it is, that * those monarchs, to whom the fame of being just and equitable is precious, do not govern their people in the manner described above. They are far from studying, how best to throw uncertainty over all things; and to fill every part of their kingdom with fear and sorrow. They do not seek for motives of joy, from the tears and groans of the innocent; nor take a delight in keeping their subjects in perpetual uneasiness, and their lives in a precarious state. The princes in question, do not desire that their subjects should tremble at their very name; nor do such princes meditate projects, in order to extirpate those who lead sober, discreet lives, and have ever done them all the service in their power. Much less do they intend to carry on these projects, like so many mines, during several years; in order to cover the artfully, and under counter-declarations; at the very time that such mines are preparing, and just ready to spring.

Q. Was not *Lewis XIV.* applauded for this cruel conduct?

A. To the skies: many asserted †, that it was truly glorious. But what can be less so, in a king, than his abusing his power; and violating, without the least reason or pretence, his royal word; his promise so solemnly

* *Plaintes des Protestans*, p. 129, & seq.

† *Idem*, p. 135.
given,

given, and so often repeated?—And yet many of the Romish clergy were lavish of their encomiums on this occasion. The bishop of *Valence* (speaking the sentiments of the Romish clergy) extols this breach of promise as a greatness, a glory, that exalts *Lewis XIV.* above all his predecessors; above time; and which consecrates it to all eternity*. These proceedings *Varillas* terms, *labours greater and much more incredible, than those of the fabulous Hercules*. This conduct *Maimbourg* styles an heroic action. The heroic action, (says this groveling flatterer;) which the king has just now performed; in forbidding, by his new edict, the public exercise of the false religion of Calvin; and his commanding all the churches of it's professors to be immediately pulled down, &c. Farther, the author of the *Journal des Savans*, did not scruple to give it publicly, as his opinion, that the catholic religion ought to be planted by fire and sword. And, to prove his assertion, he presents us with the edifying example following, viz. That a king of Norway made converts of the nobles of his country, by threatening to murder their young children before their faces, in case they refused to let them be baptized, and themselves also†. But not writers only were profuse of their applauses, on *Lewis XIV.* for raising this persecution; painters, sculptors, &c. employing their several talents, purposely to celebrate him on this occasion. Among other public elogiums, is the following; copied, (by the author of the present work,) upon the spot. Round the court of the town-house in *Paris*, are several inscriptions, (thirty in all,) in gold letters, in honour of the abovementioned monarch; and expressive of the most remarkable events, of his reign. Among the rest is the following, under the year 1635. *The edict of Nantes repealed; and heresy totally suppressed, by the zeal and piety of the king.* The rest of the inscriptions favour equally of false glory, ostentation, and pride. No monarch was ever more grossly flattered than *Lewis XIV.*; who, at the same time that he deserves the highest panegyricks, on account of his love and encouragement of the polite arts; merits the strongest censure, for his persecuting the protestants, and for the other calamities he brought upon his subjects.

* *Plaintes des Protestans*, p. 135.† *Idem*, p. 64.

2. Methinks you observed, that spite of this cruel violence that was employed; yet the papists were so shamed as to declare publickly, that no compulsion had been used?

A. Whilst the dragoons were discharging their * fury, in town and country, on the sad remains of such unhappy protestants as refused to fall down and worship the image; whilst they were treated, as rebels, in their persons, their wives, their children, their possessions, &c. the Romish clergy addressing the king by the mouth of the abovementioned bishop of *Valence*, declared; that one of the miracles in his majesty's reign, was, his making such conversions, universally, without using compulsion; and the seeing his subjects flock spontaneously, from all parts, in order to reconcile themselves to the catholic church. All this, says he, was done *without force, without arms; and much less by the strength of your edicts, than by your exemplary piety.* If we were to credit most of the abjurations, which these miserable people were made to sign, with a dagger at their throats; they declare, that they signed them voluntarily, and without compulsion being employed. *Maimbourg* too writes as follows, in his dedication to *Lewis XIV.* *Your majesty may be assured, that after having vanquished all the enemies of France, by the invincible power of your arms, yourself alone will eternally enjoy the glory and felicity, of having extirpated, from the most Christian kingdom, that enemy to God, heresy, [as he is pleased to term it;] without employing against it, in order to compel the protestants to return to the church, any other weapons, or other force, than that of your charitable zeal for their conversion; and of the manifest justice of your ordinances and edicts, the effects of which have been as happy as could be expected.* And, in his third book:—*The protestants have no reason to complain of Lewis the Great: for no violence is practiced against any person; and if the government will bestow favours, on those who become converts to the catholic religion; favours that are not indulged others, and which cannot be justly claimed by those who persist obstinately in their heresy; yet not the least injustice is done them, since they are divested of those things only*

* *Plaintes des Protestans*, p. 164.

which

which they had usurped contrary to edicts; and that the government may lawfully punish them, when they infringe the ordinances. In all probability, this method so gentle, so prudent, and so efficacious, will at last produce the same effects in France, under Lewis the Great, in order to bring back the Calvinists to the church; as under Ethelred, king of England, when he made converts of the English, who, powerfully attracted by this means, crowded daily to be baptized; in like manner as our protestants now begin to flock to mass. In this manner were the people deluded by a set of writers, who did not scruple to publish the most notorious falsehoods, whenever this turned to their advantage. But, indeed, the barbarities exercised against the protestants of France were so shocking, and flowed from so iniquitous a source, that it is no wonder, the authors and fomentors of them should have had recourse to every expedient, in order to colour and extenuate them so much as possible, and to conceal the genuine relation thereof from the knowledge of the world *.

Q. Was not this expulsion of the protestants a great loss to the kingdom †?

A. Though France is exceedingly populous; such vast numbers were drove from it, that the want of them was afterwards felt very sensibly; and how could it be otherwise, when deprived of such multitudes of persons of probity, who excelled in arts and sciences, in arms, and in professions of every kind! The French were doubly losers by this persecution, as it not only thinned their country of its inhabitants; but peopled that of its rival neighbours, to whom it carried many useful arts, the products of which these neighbours had, before, been obliged to purchase of France, to the great profit of that kingdom. This is particularly evident, from our silk manufacture in Spittle-Fields, which now rivals that of the French; and keeps great sums of money in England, which used, before, to be sent over to France, for the purchase of silks. Were we to enumerate the other useful articles that were carried out of France; and the various countries into which the French protestants fled for refuge; it would appear that the

* *Plaintes des Protestans*, p. 3.

† *Idem*, p. 137.

French have lost infinitely by the above persecutions, which must necessarily be greatly prejudicial to the monied interest, as well as to the felicity of every country in which they prevail. The commerce of *France* * suffered also vastly on this occasion; a great part of the trade, both within and without the kingdom, being carried on by the protestants; who were so interwoven with the Roman catholicks, in commercial affairs, that their interest was inseparable. What a confusion then did the persecution make! How many measures were thereby broke! How many plans destroyed! How many manufactures ruined! How many men made bankrupts! How many poor families reduced to beggary!

Q. What would be the consequence, should the Romish principle, of compulsion, become more universal?

A. Were this detestable doctrine to prevail †, it would have the most calamitous effect on all *Europe*. It must be observed, that the protestant looks upon the Romanist, as no less a heretick, than the Romanist does the protestant. Nevertheless, they live together in peace and unity, upon the faith of alliances and treaties; commerce is free, and every one is permitted to follow, undisturbed, the dictates of his conscience. But could the pests of society in question have their will, all things would be thrown into confusion, and people would cut one another's throats. Such firebrands arm the papist against the protestant, by inculcating to the former, that his religion obliges him to betray the latter; to entrap him whenever this may be done with safety; and to beat out his brains in case he refuses to apostatize from his faith. They arm the protestant against the Romanist; for what harmony could subsist, what correspondence be maintained, with people who not only would make no conscience to break their promise; but who, on the contrary, would make a conscience not to break it, whenever an opportunity might offer for that purpose? Do we then live in an age ‡, in which religion is made to consist in not fearing God? Or can it be supposed, that the fear of God consists in inspiring barbari-

* *Plaintes des Protestans*, p. 138.
† *Idem*, 182.

‡ *Idem*, p. 180.

ties? Can it be imagined, that such barbarities could be agreeable to Christ; or that he would have his religion propagated by fraud and guilt? He has indeed declared, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against his church; but then he never said that, for the propagation of his church, he would bring it to the gates of hell. Now if any things upon earth, ever resembled the gates of hell, they must be the persecutions of *France*.

Q. In what manner was this persecution of the highest prejudice to *France*?

A. It is certain, that the number of subjects forms the glory of a monarch *, and the strength of a kingdom. People are more particularly necessary in *France*, as it is often engaged in long wars, which drain it of it's inhabitants. For as four or five hundred thousand souls have been forced out of it by the persecution, they consequently left a great chasm (as it were) in their native country; and either peopled the neighbouring states, or served in their armies. How many parts of *France* are become desert? in how many places are the women obliged to supply for the absence of the men, in ploughing the grounds; or otherwise working to support their children? Arts and manufactures, together with the artificers, have fled into other countries. The *Brandenburgers*, have now no farther occasion to apply to their neighbours, in order to procure subsistence. *Holland*, which was merely as the magazine or storehouse for merchandises, is now become the staple of them; and it's manufactures are grown so famous, that numberless articles are sent, from thence, into *France*, which used to be carried from the latter into *Holland*. The gold and silver which the *French* obliged foreigners to pay, for the balance of trade, are now frequently carried out of their country, and return to it no more. The valour of the *French* refugee officers and soldiers has been tried in war; and their skillfulness in manufactures is experienced in commerce. Foreign nations have made their advantage of this; and the establishments of various kinds which have been settled, will never return again to the country from which those, who formed them, came originally.

* Preface to *Plaintes des Protestans*, &c. p. 20, 21.

Q. Did

Q. Did the calamities of the *French* protestants end with the revocation of the edict of *Nantes*?

A. The * spirit of their persecutors could not be satisfied with any thing less than the extinction of the protestant religion, and it's professors. It was not enough for the persecutors, that they had pulled down all the protestant churches, though founded on an *irrevocable edict*; that they had abolished the public worship; taken away all the means by which faith is nourished and preserved; forced the children of the protestants from them, in order to cut to the very root of the tree. The persecutors will oblige those who have long suffered, for the sake of truth, to abandon it; upon pain of being deprived of all consolation and hope. Most of the antient persecutions, whose martyrs, made the Christian church so illustrious, were of a short duration. They were as so many clouds, which disappeared, after having darkened the sky for some time. Edicts or proclamations were soon repealed, after their publication; and the heathens themselves blushed for the cruelties they had exercised against innocent persons. But the protestants of *France*, after suffering above thirty years, had the mortification to see new edicts promulgated; which plainly shewed, that the hatred in which they are held, continues as violent as ever. The complaints of these protestants reached to the throne of the monarch; but he, instead of enquiring into their justness, rejected them. The sighs they vented, for their own ease, were punished as crimes. The reverence which these ever faithful subjects, preserved for their sovereign, was stronger than their grief; and notwithstanding the extremities to which they were reduced, by the pulling down of their houses, the desolation of their families, and the seizure of their children, they yet preserved the allegiance due to their prince. But alas! he was never moved by their obedience and fidelity, nor by the evils they suffered. The intercession of foreign powers, so far from softening their calamities, served only to heighten them. Though two treaties of peace have been since concluded, with the protestants; yet the same aversion has been shewn to their religion.

* Preface to *Plaintes des Protestans*, p. iii, iv, v.

Neither the want in which the *French* stood of these unfortunate people, in order for them to succour their country; nor the decency which ought to be observed, to neighbours of a different religion, could interrupt, during a moment, the resolution which the *French* government had formed, viz, to extinguish the protestant religion, and it's professors, in *France*.

Q. Have not the *French* protestants, as was hinted, been ever loyal to their prince?

A. Of this they have perpetually given the strongest demonstrations, quite down to their present sovereign *Lewis XV.* They, when the war broke out, between *Great-Britain* and *France*, in 1744, exhibited, in their national synod, to his *Gallie* majesty, the most public proofs of their warm attachment to his person, and to his government. Whilst that king was dangerously ill at *Metz*; public prayers were ordered, in all their assemblies, for his recovery: and upon the perfect re-establishment of his health, they sung *Te Deum* in them; and joined with the papists in all the rejoicings made on that occasion *. Nevertheless, the edict of *Nantes* being repealed, the protestants were forbid to assemble publickly, upon a religious account; notwithstanding which, they, prompted by the spirit, thought themselves bound in conscience to hold such assemblies; but, at those times, no person was allowed to come with any weapons, not even so much as a stick. In 1743, the protestants of *Languedoc* began to profess their religion openly; as did those of *Dauphiné*, and other provinces, in 1744. This alarming the Romish clergy, they used their utmost endeavours to excite the jealousy of the court, and the bigotry of the people against them. Upon this Mr. *James Roger*, a protestant minister, was accused of reading a counterfeit edict to his congregation; but he clearly proved the falsity of the charge. Their preachers were afterwards unjustly accused of exhorting their auditors “to rebel against the king; to pray for the “queen of *Hungary*; and the success of the *British* arms:

* Popery always the same; exemplified in an authentic Account of the Persecution, now carrying on against the Protestants in the South of *France*, p. 7, & seq. London, sold by *B. Dod*, near Stationer's-Hall, 1746, 12mo.

“ to get by force, their children out of the nunneries
 “ in which they were confined, and to murder all the
 “ nuns ?”—In *August* 1, 1744, they were slandered, as
 though they had composed a hymn to be sung in their
 assemblies, to intreat the Almighty to sink and destroy the
French fleet, and to bless the arms of *Great-Britain*. But
 the untruth of this was soon discovered. The priests about
Montauban, falsely represented the protestants, as ready to
 fall, sword in hand, on all the Roman catholicks : and
 the representations of those priests were strenuously sup-
 ported by the late cardinal *Tencin*. The court continued,
 for some time, averse to violent measures ; and the first
 dawnings of these appeared in *April* 1745, when several
 bales and casks of religious protestant books were seized
 and burnt, and the carriers of them brought into great
 trouble *.

Q. When were the protestants persecuted in *Dauphiné*?

A. The 25th of *March* 1744, the senate of *Grenoble* be-
 gan, by throwing two persons into prison, for having been
 married by ministers of their own communion †. Soon
 after, numbers of people, ladies and gentlemen, persons
 of all ranks and professions, were taken up. The ladies
 were sent into nunneries, some for life, as the marchioness
 of *Montjoux* ; and several for a time only. Men were im-
 prisoned for a longer or shorter space. It appears by an
 instrument, drawn up in *May* 1745, that the number of
 these amounted to above one hundred and eighty. Many
 were sentenced to be whipt ; some to be pilloried ; and
 others to be branded with a hot iron. Some suffered the
 ordinary and extraordinary rack ; others were hanged in
 effigy ; as Mr. *Du Perron*, a student in divinity, who hap-
 pily made his escape. Near two hundred were outlawed ;
 some were banished, after a long imprisonment. Others
 fined, two, three, or four hundred livres each, and more :
 and others again lost their whole estates. A detachment
 of troops, attended by the hangman, were sent into every
 part of the province, to search for protestants, and spread
 terror whithersoever they came ‡. On these occasions, the

* Popery always the same, page 24.

† *Idem*, pages 25, 26.

‡ *Idem*, page 25.

protestant ministers were the chief objects of resentment. A multitude more suffered by this persecution, for which see the Treatise whence these particulars are extracted. Many were sent to the gallies. Such women as had been married by protestant ministers, were declared concubines, and their children bastards, and rendered incapable of inheriting *. In *March* one Mr. *Ranc*, was hanged at *Die*; when the persecutors forced a young protestant to assist the hangman, in dragging the corpse into a common shore: but a lady, in whom popery had not extinguished all sense of humanity, caused it to be taken out, and buried at her expence. In 1744, one *Stephen Arnaud*, who was seized for teaching some young persons to sing *David's Psalms*; was branded with a hot iron; and set on the pillory, with his *New Testament*, and *Book of Psalms* about his neck †. Two barns were pulled down, because some protestant ministers had lodged or preached in them ‡.

2. Relate the cruel sufferings of the reverend Mr. *James Roger*.

A. He was carried to *Grenoble*, and there imprisoned the 9th of *May* 1745, being near fourscore years of age, and the oldest of the *French* ministers. He had served with indefatigable zeal, the churches of *Dauphiné* during thirty years, and was a truly apostolical man. Being brought before the judges, they could not but admire his behaviour: nevertheless, on the 22d of *May*, he was sentenced to be hanged in the piazza of *Dubrueil*, in *Grenoble*, merely, “for having performed the duties of a
“preacher, in many protestant assemblies, and in dif-
“ferent parts of the province;” and not for having forged an edict, as was falsely laid to his charge. Being informed of his sentence, in the prison; he took the first opportunity to step into the adjacent yard, whence he could be easily heard by the imprisoned protestants. He there told them, that the happy day was come, wherein he should seal, with his blood, the great truths he had preached to them; and he exhorted them, to be steadfast and immovable in the religion, which, by the grace of God, they

* Popery always the same, page 35.
‡ *Idem*, p. 34.

† *Idem*, page 30.

had hitherto professed.—He spoke this in so pathetic a tone, that they all melted into tears. About four that afternoon, he was carried to the place of execution; repeating, with a loud voice, the fifty-first psalm. His countenance discovered so much mildness and serenity, that the better sort of Roman catholicks could not help crying: and even two *Jesuits*, who attended on this sad occasion, praised him exceedingly. Thus died this good man, greatly regretted by his flock; and by all the lovers of truth and virtue. After his body had hung twenty-four hours on the gallows, it was taken down; dragged through the streets; and thrown into the river *Isere*, which runs through the town. Such was the burying place assigned this excellent man *. This barbarous execution greatly intimidated the protestants.

Q. What cruelties were exercised against the protestants of *Languedoc*?

A. In 1744, a great many gentlemen, lawyers, physicians, rich merchants, and trades people, were seized, thrown into prison, and confined a long time; though nothing could be proved against them, except that they were protestants †. On the 4th of *March*, twenty-four dragoons, with a quarter-master, were sent in quest of a minister, and a student in divinity. They went to a place called *Pé-Boyer*; where, living at discretion in the houses of the protestants, they committed the most outrageous barbarities. They not only plundered the unhappy people of their provisions of all kinds, their wearing-apparel, and money; but fell foul, with their swords, on the cattle and poultry, destroying whatever they could not carry away; flaving the casks, and reserving the best things for their own use.—One of them endeavoured to force a young woman, who, running away from him, and crying aloud, brought about the house several labouring men, who were working in the neighbourhood. The dragoons being frightened, got on horseback; and, by order of their hot-headed commander, fired; and ran sword in hand on the poor people; killed an old man; wounded a great many, of whom they took eleven; and tying them to their horses

* Popery always the same, p. 31, 32.

† *Idem*, p. 36.

tails,

tails, brought them to *Montauban*, where they were imprisoned *. At *Puy-Laurens*, *Castres*, *Sainte Foi*, and *Nismes*, people are daily taken up; sent to the castle of *Ferrieres*; to the tower of *Lourdes*; or to some other prison. Twenty-four women are confined in the tower of *Constance*, at *Aigue-Mortes*; and fifty men, at least, in the galleys. Not only private persons, but whole towns and districts, are condemned in large fines, on account of religious assemblies †. One *William Iffoire* was sent to the galleys, for selling protestant books ‡. Sometimes the dragoons, surrounding protestant assemblies, fire upon them. The intendants seem to sport with the lives and fortunes of these unhappy people ||. Their most just, their humblest petitions, cannot get access to the throne: nay, the worst constructions are put upon them; and even their professions of loyalty are considered as seditious. An Apology, for the religious assemblies of the protestants, having been published, it was ordered, by the parliament of *Toulouse*, to be torn and burnt by the common hangman; as seditious, injurious to the memory of *Lewis XIV*; and contrary to the orders and intentions of *Lewis XV* §.

Q. How were the protestants of the *Vivarois* treated?

A. In much the same manner as those already mentioned: to avoid therefore entering into particulars, I shall only give the story of Mr. *Desubas*, a worthy protestant clergyman. He was seized near *Sainte Greve* ¶; when being followed by about two thousand protestants, to *Vernoux*, they were fired upon by the papists from all quarters, even from the windows; when thirty-six were killed upon the spot, and above two hundred wounded **. Mr. *Desubas* being removed to *Montpelier*, was tried there, and sentenced to be hanged. His execution was attended with hard and inhuman circumstances. Though in the depth of winter, he was made to walk to the place where he was to suffer, bare-legged, with only socks upon his feet; and a thin linnen waistcoat, without sleeves. All his books and papers were burnt before his face, at the foot

* Popery always the same, p. 38, 39.

† *Idem*, 44, 45.

¶ *Idem*, *ibid*.

|| *Idem*, *ibid*.

** *Idem*, p. 49.

† *Idem*, p. 43.

§ *Idem*, p. 48.

of the gallows. Just before he was executed, a crucifix was offered him to kiss; but he put it from him; and died with his eyes fixed on heaven, whither he was hasting. Drums beat aloud during the whole time of this sad ceremony, to prevent the spectators, from hearing the unhappy victim, as is the custom *. As no marriages are valid, in *France*, except such as are solemnized by the Romish priests; some of these protestants, not having an opportunity of being joined by a minister of their own religion, promise, before their relations and friends, to cohabit as man and wife; and to be faithful to each other till they may find an opportunity, of being united in wedlock by one of their clergymen. In the district of *Montauban*, about the year 1744, there were solemnly married at the same time, in one of the protestant assemblies, a grandfather, son, and grandson; all three respectively to the women they had lived with, till that time, as their wives. To such shifts are those unhappy people exposed †!

2. As these protestants were charged, by many Roman catholicks, their countrymen, with disloyalty; what were their real sentiments with regard to their king?

A. These are admirably well expressed in the following letter ‡. “How earnestly soever all of us, in general, desire to enjoy liberty of conscience; how natural and reasonable soever this desire may appear to us; your lordship may be assured, that this desire will never induce us to do any thing, which shall, in the least, interfere with that fidelity, which we owe to our dread sovereign. This inestimable liberty of conscience we wait for with entire resignation. We will ask it in no other way than by our prayers and tears. And we hope to obtain it, at last, only as a reward for our unreserved obedience to his majesty’s commands in every thing, which flows from his authority; and by sacrificing our lives and fortunes in his service. Our religion inspires us with this submission, and engages us to

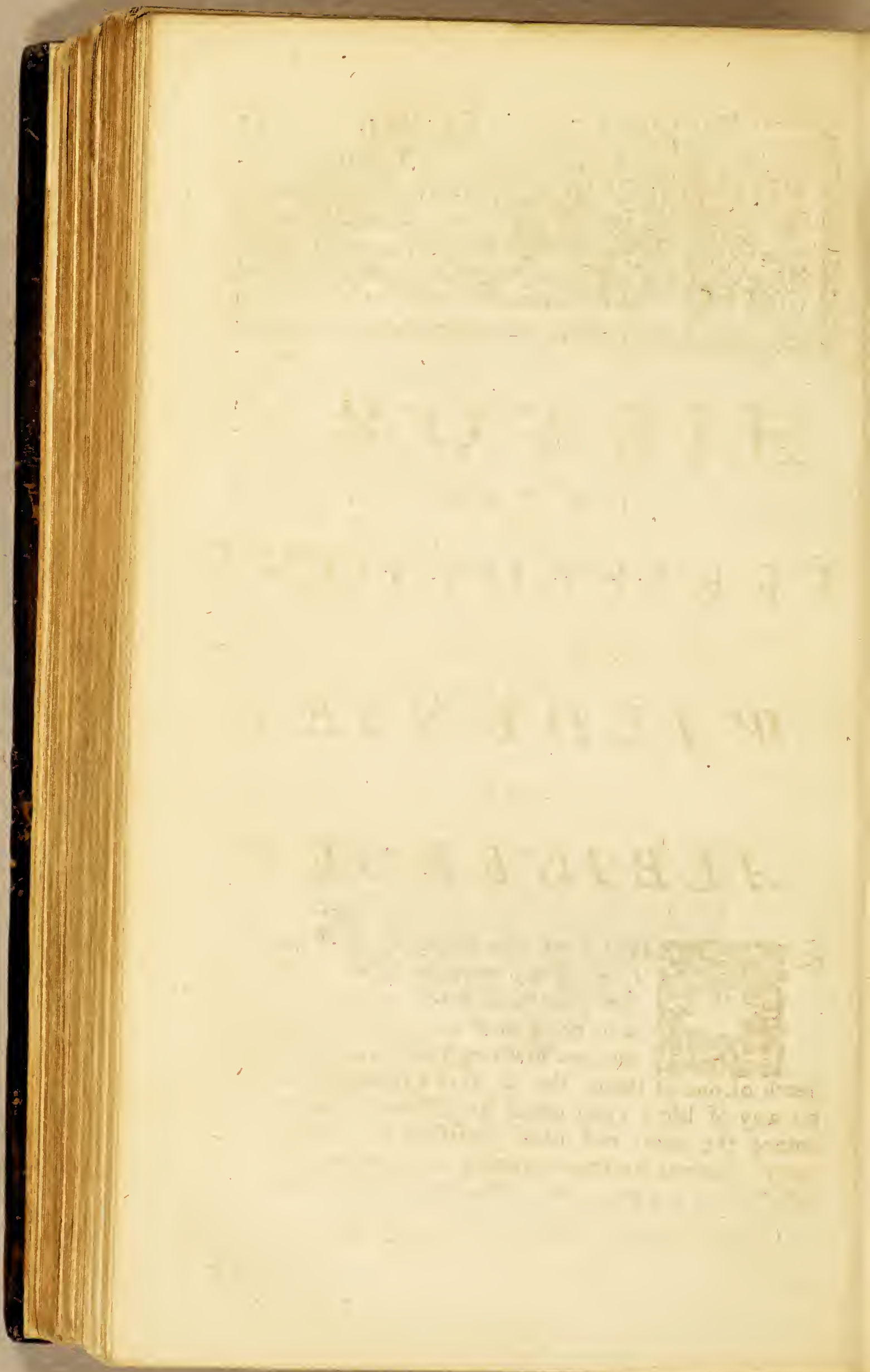
* Popery always the same, page 50, 51.

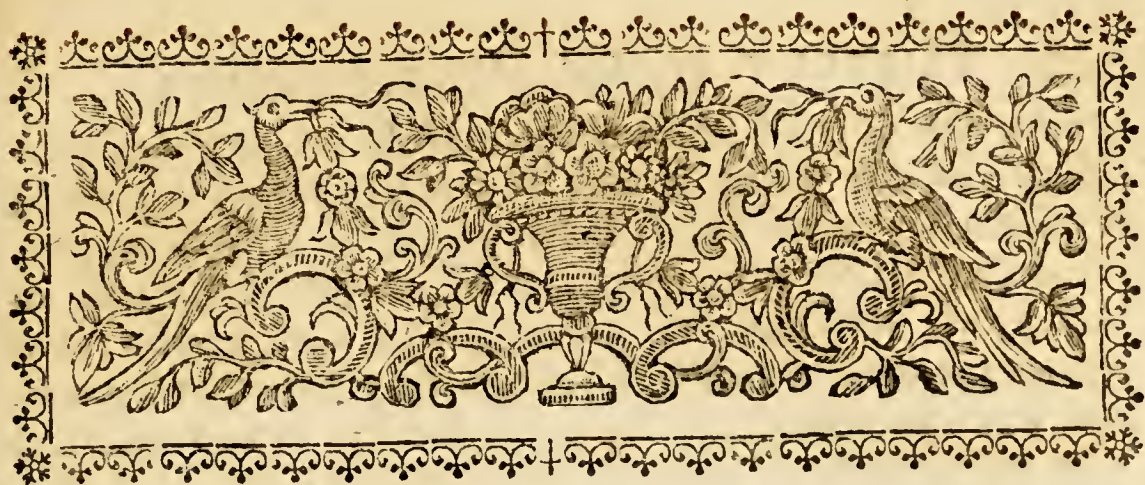
† *Idem*, page 55.
‡ Copy of a letter from Mr. Roger, minister of the protestant churches in *Dauphiné*, to Mr. d’Argenson, inserted in Popery always the same, &c. p. 70.

offer him that sacrifice. But besides this, the title of father of his people, which he has so justly acquired, secures him the free homage of our hearts! a homage the more glorious, as it is entirely the effect of his majesty's merit. If therefore any writings, any attempts should be ascribed to us, that have not this stamp, (as has already been too often the case,) your lordship may conclude, that the whole is the work of calumny." By the *French* king's declaration, of the 14th of *May*, 1724, and others, "All men who profess the protestant religion, are to be condemned to the galleys for life; all women to be shut up in nunneries; and all preachers to suffer death *."—What a government is this to live under!—How happy is that of the *Britons*!


* Popery always the same, p. 85.







HISTORY
OF THE
PERSECUTIONS
OF THE
WALDENSES
AND
ALBIGENSES.

2.  **W**HO were the *Waldenses*, or *Vaudois*?
A. They were so called, from *Peter Waldo* or *Valdo*, a rich merchant of *Lyons*; who being at a meeting of his companions, was so strongly affected, by the sudden death of one of them, that he took a resolution to change his way of life; upon which he distributed all his wealth among the poor, and made profession of a voluntary poverty. Several persons imitating his example, founded a sect * about the year 1160, who were called, among other

* So this author, a Roman catholick, falsely terms it.
names,

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names, the poor of *Lyons*, because of the poverty they professed. *Waldo* being a man of some learning, explained the *New Testament*, to his followers, in the vulgar tongue. He instructed them so well, that they resolved not only to lead a life of voluntary poverty, like the apostles; but also to preach and teach, although they were but laymen, and had no mission, (as says this Romish writer falsely.) The ecclesiasticks of *Lyons* however rebuked them, as they began to exclaim against the clergy in general. The pope afterwards excommunicated, and condemned them as heretics *. *Peter Waldo*, having been drove, with a great number of his disciples, out of *France*; settled in the valley of the *Vaudois*, the capital whereof is *Lucerne*, subject to the princes of *Savoy*, now kings of *Sardinia*.

Q. What were their doctrines?

A. They were desirous of forming a society of persons, who should practice the precepts enjoined by the gospel, pursuant to the letter, and revive the manner of life led by the apostles. The clergy, opposing their preaching, as they had no mission; the *Waldenses* withstood the prelates; shook off the yoke of obedience; inveighed against the behaviour of the ecclesiasticks; maintaining, that they, from their unworthiness, had disqualified themselves for the ministry; and that the people were no longer obliged to obey them. The *Waldenses* went farther, and taught, that ministers of bad morals could neither consecrate nor give absolution; and they assumed that privilege to themselves, though mere laymen. They maintained, that priests were obliged to embrace a life of poverty; and that it was not lawful either to swear, or put men to death. They next attacked the doctrine of the church of *Rome*, with regard to the worshipping of saints, relicks, indulgences, the sacraments and purgatory. In a word, the *Waldenses* maintained, that the church of *Rome* was no longer the true church of Christ, neither as to morals nor to doctrine; and they condemned most of it's practices. They multiplied considerably in the 13th century, spite of the inquisition which was afterwards established against them; and spread

* *Du Pin's History of the Church*, Vol. iii. p. 201, & seq. London 1724, 12mo.

into *Arragon*, and the valley of *Piedmont* *. All the above particulars are extracted from *Du Pin*, a Roman catholic in high esteem; by whom it appears, that the *Waldenses* had great reason to endeavour, at a reformation of the errors of the church of *Rome*, and of the clergy; and as this struck so strongly at the popes, it is no wonder that the most shocking cruelties should have been employed, by them, in order to extirpate the *Waldenses*, whom they falsely termed hereticks.

Q. Who were the *Albigenses*?

A. They were so called from *Albi*, a very antient town of *France*, and the seat of an archbishop in upper *Languedoc*. These took their rise in the 12th century. They also attempted a reformation, and thence are called hereticks by the Romanists. They spread in *Languedoc*, *Provence*, *Dauphiné*, and *Arragon*. *Raymond*, count of *Toulouse*, supported the *Albigenses*, who were now become vastly numerous, and very powerful, especially in *Languedoc*; and they gathered strength daily, through the negligence of the prelates, and the looseness and immorality of the lower clergy. Pope *Innocent III*, to stop their progress, sent two legates into that country, in 1198, to root out, if possible, that heresy; (so this Romish writer calls it.) But that first mission having produced very little effect, the pope gave a commission to *St. Bernard*, to employ the monks of his order, and particularly *Peter of Chateauneuf*; not only to preach against those hereticks; but likewise to rouse the princes and the people, in order for them to set up a CRUSADE † against the *Albigenses*. Those missionaries making no great progress, held an assembly in 1207; in which, upon the remonstrance of *Didacus*, bishop of *Osma*, they took a resolution to quit the pride, the pomp, and magnificence of their train, and of their habits. The bishop of *Osma* set them the first example, by laying aside his own equipage, and by keeping only a small number of the clergy about him; among whom was the famous *Dominic*; afterwards founder of the order of preaching friars, and the inquisition ‡. Hence it is evi-

* *Du Pin's History of the Church*, Vol. iii. p. 202, 203, & seq.

† This was treating those reformers like infidels or *Mahometans*.

‡ *Du Pin's History of the Church*, Vol. iii. p. 204.

dent, that the doctrine of the *Albigenses* then checked the luxury and splendor of those bishops. The pope, in raising the crusade above hinted at, granted indulgences to St. *Dominic*: and his disciples were commanded to publish them in their utmost extent, in the following sense, viz. That all, who, either by their credit or money, might contribute to the extirpation of the hereticks, should obtain the effect of those indulgences as fully, as though themselves were to fight against them: upon which a powerful army was raised * ?

Q. What steps were next taken, against the *Albigenses*, by the Romish clergy ?

A. They excommunicated *Raymond*, count of *Toulouse*, and stirred up the great men of the province against him; which obliged him to abandon, in outward appearance, the *Albigenses*, and to receive absolution. However, his conversion was not sincere, he being perpetually changing. At last, having had a conference, at St. *Giles's* in *Provence*, with the pope's missionaries; he caused *Peter of Chateaufort* to be assassinated, as he was going out of that city. The pope immediately excommunicated *Raymond*; and exhorted *Philip Augustus*, king of *France*, and the other princes and grandees of the kingdom, to form a crusade, (as was observed) to destroy the *Albigenses*. The count, in order to avoid the storm, which was ready to burst over his head, sent and assured the Roman pontiff, that he would endeavour to root out that heresy; and receive absolution from the legate, whom he should send to him. A legate arriving, he required the count to deliver up seven cities, as a pledge for the due performance of his promise; and also to walk, stript to his shirt, to the gate of St. *Giles's* church, there to receive absolution. Upon this, the count promised to abandon the hereticks; to drive them out of his estates; and to restore, to the church, whatever he had taken from it †.

Q. What was next done by the army of the crusaders ?

* The Religious Ceremonies, and Customs of the several Nations of the known World, Vol. ii. page 201. London, 1731, folio.
† *Du Pin's History of the Church*, Vol. iii. p. 204, 205.

A. Having no farther occasion to fight against the count of *Toulouse*, they marched towards *Beziers*, in which city the *Albigenses* had fortified themselves. The crusaders besieged that city; took, and then burnt it*. They cut to pieces the men, women, and children in the place. On this occasion, no regard was had to age nor sex. Not even a single person was pardoned; and the Roman catholicks themselves, (a small number of whom were in that city,) fell undistinguished with the rest†. The town of *Carcaf-sone* met with the same fate. The crusaders then elected *Simon*, count *De Montfort*, for their general, who continued the war. The count of *Toulouse*, seeing himself plundered by the crusaders, declared war against them; after having tried all means of accommodation, but to no purpose. The king of *Arragon* offered to be mediator; but the crusaders not listening to him, he joined count *De Toulouse*. His army was defeated at the siege of *Muret*, where he himself was slain; after which the city of *Toulouse* surrendered; and the greatest part of *Languedoc* and *Provence* were conquered. The pope gave all the lands, of count *De Toulouse*, to count *De Montfort*: and the Lateran council adjudged, to him, the city of *Toulouse*; when *Raymond*, returning from *Arragon* with an army, retook that city. Immediately count *De Montfort* besieged it; but was killed in a sally‡.

Q. What happened next?

A. After various contests, between the sons of count *De Toulouse*, and count *De Montfort*; Anno 1225, cardinal *Romanus*, the pope's legate, held a national council at *Bourges*, wherein the counts of *Toulouse* and *Montfort*, asserted their respective rights. Nothing was decided there; but, the same year, that cardinal held a national council in *Paris*, when he excommunicated count *De Toulouse*; and gave his lands to *Lewis* king of *France*, and to his successors. In consequence thereof, he raised a crusade; at the head of which the king put himself; and marching his army into *Provence*, conquered it. At last,

* *Du Pin's History of the Church*, Vol. iii. p. 205. † The Religious Ceremonies, and Customs of the several Nations of the known World, Vol. ii. p. 202. ‡ *Du Pin, ibid.*

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Raymond was obliged to treat with the king and the pope; when he agreed to set up the inquisition in his dominions; to extirpate the *Albigenses*; and to maintain the clergy in their revenues and liberties: to pay considerable sums for the damages done by him to the churches; to enlist himself in the crusade, and to make war upon the *Saracens* during five years: to give his daughter in marriage to the king's son, on this condition, that, after his death, the county of *Toulouse*, and the estates left him, should devolve on that prince, and be annexed to his crown*.

Q. When was this treaty concluded?

A. Anno 1228, in *Paris*, where the count continued a prisoner, till the conditions of the treaty were fulfilled. The king sent him back, about *Whitsuntide*, to his own country, whither he was accompanied by the legate, who, in 1229, held a council at *Toulouse*, in which he set up the inquisition; and established several laws against heresy, as it was termed. At first count *Raymond* did not shew much zeal against the *Albigenses*; for which he was reproached, by the pope's legate, at an assembly held in *Milan*, Anno 1232; when it was resolved, that the count should enact laws against them, by the advice of the archbishop of *Toulouse*, and a nobleman to be appointed by the king. Accordingly the said archbishop drew up articles; agreeably whereto, the count made a most ample declaration against the hereticks in 1253, which was published in *Toulouse*†. This last blow compleated the ruin of the *Albigenses*, who, from that time, were totally subject to the power of the merciless inquisition. In this war, against the *Albigenses*, there had been a great profusion of blood and treasure. To it succeeded the inquisition, as was just now observed. It was established by pope *Innocent III.* and *St. Dominic*. This pontiff considering, that how much soever the power of the *Albigenses* might have been weakened by open force; yet great numbers of them would still survive, who might persist in the same opinions, and profess their doctrines in private: he therefore thought it necessary, in order to put a stop to this and every other kind of heresy,

* *Du Pin's History of the Church*, Vol. iii. p. 206. † *Idem*, *ibid*, p. 206, 207.

(as they called it,) to establish a standing remedy, viz. a tribunal composed of men, wholly dependant on the Roman pontiffs, whose sole business should be, to detect and punish hereticks*. This tribunal was the INQUISITION; a tribunal whence, like *Pandora's* box, numberless evils flew out, to harass, to torture, and thin mankind.

Q. What authors of eminence have writ concerning the *Albigenses* and *Waldenses* †?

A. A great number, both protestants and Roman catholicks. The celebrated bishop *Bossuet*, in his *History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches*, Book xi, degrades their character, by accusing them of *Manicheism*; and he does this, in order to deprive the protestants of the use they make, of the testimony of the abovementioned people, against the Roman catholicks. He was answered, by the very learned Dr. *Allix*, in a piece, entitled, *Some Remarks upon the ecclesiastical History of the antient Churches of Piedmont*. London, 1690, 4to. The doctor does not, on that occasion, pretend to write a compleat history of the churches of *Piedmont*; this having already been abundantly done, by several learned men: but he undertakes to shew, that these churches are really antient; and that they have kept themselves free from all subjection to the see of *Rome*, even from their first establishment, which they carry as far back as the times of the apostles. Dr. *Allix* therefore shews, that there was a constant succession, not only of the true Christian doctrines, but also of the ministry in those churches, from the time of the apostles, to the thirteenth century; when they became so famous, by bravely opposing the errors and corruptions of the church of *Rome*. By this means the doctor thinks he is able to answer the question, of those Romanists, who require the protestants to shew them a church, in which their opinions were held before *Luther*; or, at least, before the twelfth century.—The answer will be, that there was such a church in *Piedmont*, as Dr. *Allix* shews at large in the work abovementioned; a curious account of which is seen in *Acta Eruditorum*, for June 1691. Two years after, he published *Remarks upon the ecclesiastical History of the*

* Religious Ceremonies, &c. *ibid.* p. 205.
Dictionnaire de Trevoux, article ALBIGEOIS.

† For this see

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antient Churches of the Albigenſes, London, 1692, 4to. Dr. *Allix* defends theſe churches, with as much zeal, judgment, and ſtrength of reaſon, as he had done thoſe of *Piedmont*. This book, as well as that wrote on the antient churches of that country, abounds with curious hiſtorical facts, which ſhew the author's good ſenſe, and great reading *. Many Romiſh writers aſſert, that the *Albigenſes* were *Manichees* as was hinted; but this is not true, as Mr. *Baſnage* has ſhewn †. *Manicheiſm*, indeed, appeared, in *France*, in the ſame age with the *Albigenſes*; but theſe were not infected with that hereſy ‡, as was obſerved.

Q. Were not the modern *Vaudois* or *Waldenſes* perſecuted?

A. They had long remained in quiet in their vallies; but the late princes of the houſe of *Savoy*, ſet every engine at work, to convert them to popery; and treated them ſo rigorouſly, that many of them were forced to fly, for refuge, to *Switzerland*; where about 4000 of them, taking up arms, and forming themſelves into regiments, ventured to return to their native country in a hoſtile manner; under the command of *Arnaud*, one of their celebrated preachers; and *Turel*, a mason by trade. Theſe forcing their way into *Savoy*; defeated ſeveral detachments of the *French* and *Savoyard* troops; when their ſovereign, at the interceſſion of our king *William III.*, gave the reſt of them liberty to return home, and enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion. But their prince having made a ſeparate treaty with *France*, in 1696, this crown inſiſted on his baniſhing them again, in caſe they reſuſed to turn Roman catholicks, on which occaſion a freſh perſecution aroſe. But the *Sardinian* monarch breaking with *France* in 1703, he took the *Vaudois* again into favour; and employed them in the defence of their country againſt *France*. In this they did him good ſervice at firſt; but ſome afterwards put themſelves under the protection of that crown.

Q. Have not endeavours been frequently uſed, by the court of *Rome*, to convert the *Vaudois* to popery?

* General Dictionary, hiſtorical and critical, Vol. ii. under (ALLIX, Dr.) p. 526, note 1. London, 1735.
 † *Hiſt. de la Religion des Eglises reformées*, Part i. Chap. iv. &c.
 ‡ General Dictionary, Vol. vii. under the article MANICHEANS, (*Manichees*,) p. 402.

A. Yes;

A. Yes ; and, among those who were most zealous, was *Marco Cluertio Rorengo*, one of the joint lords of the valley of *Lucerne*, and grand prior of *St. Roc* in *Turin*. The enemies of the protestant churches in the vallies, who are ever watching for opportunities to persecute them ; made use of a famine, which broke out, for this wicked purpose. They hoped that it would serve as a net, in which they might catch the poor famished protestants. Among those who exerted themselves, in this view, was *Rorengo* abovementioned, who having studied the law, turned priest ; and travelling to *Rome*, was appointed prior of *Lucerne*. He obtained this priory for his having promised, at *Rome* and elsewhere, to promote, to the utmost of his power, the Romish religion in the vallies ; and to there abolish, at least check, that of the protestants. It was said, that he proposed to build new convents in the valley of *Lucerne*, and in some other places ; to raise houses for some friars in others, &c. In the first place, he prevailed with his father to sell his mansion, and the adjoining buildings ; and to convert them into a monastery for the residence of the Franciscans. He brought friars of that order thither, and stocked the house with provisions, sufficient not only for the monks themselves ; but also to purchase the consciences of the poor famished people. These Romanists were very industrious in winning over the protestants by this alluring bait ; and particularly lady *Catherine*, the prior's mother, she going from house to house ; and exhorting the poorer and weaker sort of people, to go and accept of the great charity, which the neighbouring fathers had prepared for them *.—The same stratagem is employed by some wealthy Roman catholicks in *England*, to convert the lower sort of people in their neighbourhood, by exercising great hospitality towards them ; and by keeping open house, in order to draw them from the protestant faith. Another historian † of the church of the *Waldenses* says, prior *Rorengo* is their great persecutor ; and a member of the council *De extirpandis Hereticis* : and is looked upon by the court of *Rome*,

* Pierre Gilles, Hist. Eccles. des Eglises Vaudoises, p. 473, 474.

† Ecclesiastical History of the *Vaudois*, by Mr. Leger, Part i. p. 155.

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as the most diligent, the most subtle, and the most effectual instrument, they could have met with in this age, for harassing those poor people of the vallies; and the best able to contrive methods to ruin them, he being grown old in this study.

Q. Did not *Oliver Cromwell* interest himself in their favour?

A. The duke of *Savoy* raised a new persecution against the *Waldenses*; he cruelly massacring many of them; and driving the rest, from their dwellings into the mountains. Hereupon the protector sent to cardinal *Mazarin*, desiring him to put a stop to these cruelties; adding, that he was sensible the *French* had the duke in their power, and could restrain him as they pleased; and, therefore, if he did not do this, he must break with him immediately. The cardinal objected to this as unreasonable: he yet promised to employ his good offices for this purpose, but could not answer for the effects. However, nothing would satisfy the protector, till they had obliged the duke of *Savoy*, to restore whatever he had unjustly taken from his protestant subjects, and to renew all their former privileges. The protector also raised a great sum of money for them; and sent over Mr. *Moreland* [afterwards Sir *Samuel*,] to settle all their affairs, and supply all their losses *.

* Life of *Oliver Cromwell*, Lord Protector, &c. impartially collected from the best historians, &c. p. 337, London, (Second Edition) 1725, 8vo.



EXPULSION



EXPULSION

OF THE

Jews and Moriscoes

FROM

SPAIN,

OWING

Chiefly to the INQUISITION.

Q. **W**HO were the *Moriscoes*?

A. The descendants of the *Moors* who conquered *Spain*: and were called *Moriscoes* by the *Spaniards*, to distinguish them from the *Moors* of *Barbary*.

Q. By whom had *Spain* been conquered?

A. First by the *Romans*, who kept the sovereignty thereof, till the beginning of the fifth century: and afterwards by the *Goths*, who possessed it about three hundred years, till they were drove out by the *Moors* or *Saracens*; these being *Mahomedans*, inhabiting *Barbary*, who being invited into

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Spain, Anno Dom. 713; conquered it; and there established the Mahomedan faith; at the same time allowing the Christians liberty of conscience; a circumstance which demands our peculiar notice; as these Moriscoes, when afterwards subdued by the Christians, were not only denied that privilege by their conquerors, but also cruelly drove out of Spain. The Moors, or Moriscoes governed Spain till the year 1491-2, when Muley Boabdil, king of Grenada, surrendered his kingdom to Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Castile and Arragon; which put a period to the dominion of the Moors in Spain.

Q. What was the substance of the articles of surrender, between Ferdinand, and Muley Boabdil?

A. "That the Moors do deliver up, within six days, to king Ferdinand, the two castles, towns, and gates of the city of Grenada. That they pay homage, and take an oath of allegiance, to him. That they give liberty to all Christian slaves, without ransom. That five hundred sons of the chief inhabitants of the city be delivered up, as hostages, till these articles be duly fulfilled. That the Moors be left in possession of their lands, their arms, and their horses; delivering up only the artillery. That they be allowed their mosques, with the free exercise of their religion, and be governed by their own laws; for which purpose persons of their own nation shall be appointed, by whose advice the king's officers shall administer justice to them. That part of the ordinary taxes shall be abated, during three years; and be never after higher than what the Moors used to pay their own monarchs. That such Moriscoes as would go over into Africa, may sell their goods; and be furnished with ships for their passage. That king Boabdil's son, and the other hostages given by him, be restored, after the city is surrendered."

Q. What did Ferdinand and Isabella, after they had possessed themselves of all Spain?

A. According to the bigotted Spanish historians, one of their first cares was, to root out all errors and heresies from the church; for which purpose, they established the holy inquisition (as it is most falsely termed,) in order to keep the converted Moriscoes and Jews in awe; and to deter them from returning to their respective religions.

But

But notwithstanding the specious pretences offered by a croud of Romish writers, for erecting the inquisition: it is now universally allowed, by other nations, to be an inhuman and most execrable tribunal; a tribunal, big with the most crying injustice; it making children to bear the guilt of their parents; and not permitting persons impeached, to know either their accusers, or the particulars of the charge brought against them, in order to give them an opportunity of clearing themselves. Prodigious numbers of *Moriscoes* fell victims to this bloody tribunal, as will be seen; so far were they from being allowed their mosques, and the free exercise of their religion, as had been solemnly agreed between king *Ferdinand* and *Muley Boabdil*: and notwithstanding that the *Moriscoes*, when masters of *Spain*, had indulged their Christian subjects liberty of conscience. The inquisitions, those of *Spain* and *Portugal* especially, are well known to be wicked institutions, whence numberless evils have rushed forth; and to have butchered vast multitudes of persons of both sexes, since the time of the expulsion of the *Moors*: and that, to the great scandal, and terror of human nature, it subsists to this day, in the two counties above mentioned.

Q. Were there not a multitude more of *Moriscoes*, after the taking of *Grenada*, in other parts of *Spain*?

A. Yes; and these were scattered all over *Castile*, *Estramadura*, *Arragon*, *Catalonia*, &c. who kept themselves as a distinct people from the *Spaniards*; by a tenacious adherence to their own language, habits, and the customs of their ancestors; as well as to their religion, which was the *Mahomedan*, as was observed. Hence the *Spanish* friars had made but very few converts among them; these *Moriscoes* being exceedingly stubborn, and despising all of a different religion from themselves.

Q. What course did the *Spanish* monarch take?

A. Thinking it was dangerous for so great a number of *Moriscoes* to continue in his dominions, because of their near neighbourhood to *Barbary*; he debated upon what could best be done with them. To murder them all in cold blood would have been horrid; and to drive them into *Barbary*, had been depopulating his own country, and strengthening that of his enemy. It was therefore

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thought most prudent to convert them to Christianity; and accordingly the clergy were strongly exhorted to labour at that good work, as it was speciously called.

Q. How did the friars behave?

A. Being exasperated against these infidels, because they would not turn Christians, they represented them as an obstinate people, who were not to be won by gentle methods; for which reason they exhorted their sovereign, either to banish or enslave them; or else to baptize all their children. But these methods were thought, in general, too violent and unlawful, and expressly forbid by the council of *Toledo*; not to mention that the *Moriscoes*, when masters of *Spain*, had never employed force to convert the Christians to *Mahomedanism*; and that *Ferdinand*, at his taking *Grenada*, had solemnly stipulated to allow the *Moriscoes* liberty of conscience, as we before took notice.

Q. Did *Ferdinand* molest the *Moriscoes* on a religious account?

A. Very little for the first seven years; but being under no such engagement with regard to the *Jews*, he commanded all of that religion, three months after his taking *Grenada*, either to be baptized, or to quit the kingdom in four months, upon pain of death. Accordingly they retired into different countries, but most of them to *Portugal*, where *John II*, for a great sum of money, permitted them to reside, during certain months, till they should have procured shipping. But staying beyond the limited time, because the king had forbid their being taken on board any vessels; they, the instant the term was expired, were, by the royal order, stripped of all their possessions, and sold as slaves. However, king *Emanuel*, successor to *John*, set all the *Jews* at liberty; but commanded them, upon pain of perpetual servitude, either to receive baptism, in certain months, or to leave *Portugal*; promising ships for such as should be desirous to go away. Being ready for embarking, they were ordered to take shipping no where except at *Lisbon*; but coming thither, all their children, under fourteen years old, were taken from them, and forcibly baptized; which enraged several of the parents to such a degree, that they threw their children, under the age above specified, into the rivers
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and wells, and themselves plunged after them. But the time for their embarkation being expired, and no ship being permitted to receive them, they, to prevent their falling again into slavery, consented to be baptized; and it is computed that above three hundred thousand men, women, and children received that sacrament on the occasion in question. But these continued, as do their descendants, *Jews* in their hearts; and great numbers of them to this day bring up their children in the *Jewish* faith; spite of the horrid cruelties exercised, by the inquisition, on all who have been convicted of returning to that religion. This dispersion of the *Spanish Jews*, is looked upon as equal to that which followed the destruction of *Jerusalem*; above eight hundred thousand persons being drove out of *Spain* at this period.

Q. What did *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* afterwards?

A. Returning, in 1499, to visit their new conquests, and finding that few *Moriscoes* had been converted to Christianity; they sent to *Grenada*, for the famous cardinal *Ximenes*, archbishop of *Toledo*; and exhorted him to find out some method to convert their *Morisco* subjects. *Ximenes*, who was a man of great resolution, began this work, by prevailing on some of the persons of the first quality, by rich presents, to turn Christians; which example was followed by a considerable number of the inferior sort. Many other *Moriscoes* exhorting their kindred, &c. not to quit their religion, *Ximenes* caused them to be apprehended; when having loaded them with irons, he ordered them to be thrown into dungeons, and there treated as the worst malefactors. Among these was *Zagri*, a nobleman and warrior. *Zagri* being committed to the custody of one of *Ximenes*'s chaplains, named *Leoni*; desired, some days after, to be brought before the archbishop. Being come, and declaring, *That he had been commanded, the night before, in a dream, to turn Christian.* He added, *I am not such a fool, as to want any more arguments to persuade me to become a convert: not to mention those used by that terrible lion of your lordship's* (alluding to the keeper's name;) *to whom let my countrymen be committed but so many days, as I have been; and I'll undertake that he will convert them all to Christianity.* The archbishop then commanded

Zagri

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Zagri to be led out and washed ; and having cloathed him in scarlet, himself baptized him. Other *Moriscoes* following *Zagri's* example, *Ximenes* ordered them to deliver up their *Korans** or *Bibles*, and other books, to him ; all which he caused to be burnt in the market-place, their works on philosophy and physick excepted. He likewise ordered vast numbers of children to be forcibly baptized.

Q Did not this occasion an insurrection ?

A. This enraging the *Moriscoes* almost to madness, they took up arms ; and, after having barricaded the streets of the city, they marched in a great body to the house where the archbishop lived ; who sending one of his domesticks to enquire what they wanted ; they sent word, that they desired the articles, on which the city had surrendered, might be observed. The archbishop gave them the mildest answer, till the governor of the citadel was come down ; who dispersing the *Moriscoes* with very little bloodshed ; *Ximenes* would not then treat with them any longer but as with rebels, who had forfeited their lives and fortunes. The king then dispatched judges to *Grenada*, with orders to condemn, as traytors, all such *Moriscoes* as had been concerned in the insurrection ; and, after condemnation, to offer them their lives, provided they would turn Christians. On this occasion fifty thousand *Moriscoes*, inhabitants of *Grenada* were baptized ; though these were far from being Christians inwardly. The bishop of *Grenada* causing, afterwards, the psalms, the gospels and epistles, to be translated into *Arabic*, for the use of the *Moriscoes* ; he was much blamed, on that account, by *Ximenes* ; he declaring, that *whenever the Bible should be translated into the vulgar tongue, it would be of pernicious consequence to Christianity.*

Q. How did the *Moriscoes*, who inhabited the country, act at this time ?

A. Being alarmed at the violence exercised on those of *Grenada*, they fortified themselves in the mountains, where they lived ; resolving to die *Mahomedans*, sword in hand, rather than be baptized. However, before they could be able to assemble their militia ; *Gonzalo Ferdinando*, the

* This is the true orthography, and not *Alcoran*.

great captain, came upon them with a considerable body of veteran troops; when taking *Huyar*, the most considerable town in their mountains, by storm; he put all the men, women, and children he found therein to the sword; hoping, by this example, to intimidate the rest, which, however, had a contrary effect; the news thereof causing the *Moriscoes* to fortify themselves in all places; and procuring them a much greater army than they otherwise would have been able to get together.

Q. What did the *Moriscoes* afterwards?

A. Being now too strong for the great captain, the king himself also marched against them; when he, in a short time, reduced *Sanaiarra*, *Almeria*, *Bacca*, *Guadie*, and all the other *Morisco* towns then in arms; forcing all the inhabitants to be baptized. The king then published a proclamation, commanding, upon pain of death, all such *Moriscoes* in the mountains, inaccessible to his troops, to lay down their arms; and remove with their families, into the kingdom of *Castile*, where dwellings should be provided for them. The *Moriscoes*, fearing, when once they should come from their fastnesses, that their throats would be cut, or they compelled to turn Christians; sent commissions to the king, requesting to be transported to *Barbary*, at ten dollars *per* head. The monarch, being in great want of money, multitudes of the *Moriscoes* were permitted to embark; but many more, having nothing to give, were left behind, and were all baptized by compulsion. On this occasion, above two hundred thousand men, women, and children were converted, in outward appearance, by the king and the archbishop. The inquisition considering all these baptisms as valid; persecuted, with its usual barbarity, all who were convicted of returning to the *Mahomedan* faith. In the space of forty years, no less than an hundred thousand, living and dead, present and absent, were condemned for apostacy by the inquisition of *Sevil*; whereof four thousand were burnt, and thirty thousand reconciled; the rest having escaped into *Barbary*. Five thousand houses were left empty, by this persecution, within the districts of the inquisition of *Sevil*; and complaint thereof being made, by the landlords, to the king; it was concluded in council, that if a
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stop was not put to the proceedings of this bloody court, the kingdom of *Spain* would become a desert.

Q. Did the king incline to mercy?

A. He seemed touched with it; when *Thomas de Turrecremata*, a *Dominican*, who, for modelling the inquisition, was appointed inquisitor-general, hearing of this, posted away to court; and having immediately obtained an audience of the king and queen, he pulled a crucifix from under his habit, before he spoke; when holding it forth to them, he delivered himself thus:—"I am not a stranger to the bargain which is carrying on here. Our blessed Saviour was sold for thirty pieces of silver. Now if you think that *Judas* did well, in selling *Jesus* to his enemies, do you the same, and sell him for much more. However, that I may not seem to have a hand in so abominable a contract, I here give up my authority; and do you answer to God, for whatever may be the consequences of it." The king and queen were so strongly affected by this passionate exhortation, that, from this time, no one dared so much as to hint at the dreadful havock made by the inquisition, in *Spain*. The news of the cruelties exercised, by the *Spaniards*, on the *Moriscoes* of *Grenada*, being carried to *Egypt*; the soldan was going to persecute all his Christian subjects, in like manner. The famous *Peter Martyr* was sent ambassador, from *Ferdinand*, to *Grand Cairo* on this occasion. During the remainder of king *Ferdinand's* reign, great numbers of the *Moriscoes* were burnt; and none of them, who turned Christians, were truly so.

Q. How did the emperor, *Charles V.* son to *Ferdinand*, behave towards the *Moriscoes*?

A. Having spent the summer of 1526, in *Grenada*, and being splendidly entertained there by the *Moriscoes*; a memorial was presented to him; complaining of the intolerable grievances they suffered, from the *Spanish* clergy, judges, &c. *Charles V.* being greatly offended at this, appointed visitors to enquire into the behaviour of the *Moriscoes*. Those coming to *Grenada*, found that all the complaints of the *Moriscoes* were too just, but that scarce any of them were sincere Christians. A report of this being made, a junta of the court-prelates and lawyers was appointed, to search

search for a remedy to both these evils. They, after various long consultations, at last agreed upon the following orders, for the benefit of the *Moriscoes*, as it was termed; 1. That the court of the inquisition should be moved, from *Jaen* to the city of *Grenada*, where the most considerable *Moriscoes* lived, in order to be a standing terror to them. 2. That all offences, committed before the year 1527, should be forgiven; but all future ones rigorously punished by the inquisition. 3. That the *Moriscoes* should no longer speak *Moorish* or *Arabic*, but *Spanish*; and all their contracts be in the latter language. 4. That all the *Moriscoes* should wear the *Spanish* dress. 5. That no taylor should make cloaths, or mason build houses, except after the *Spanish* manner. 6. That no *Morisco* should be brought to bed, but in presence of some old Christian woman; in order that no *Mahomedan* ceremonies might be practised on that occasion. That three colleges should be built, for instructing the *Morisco* children, in the Christian faith.

Q. What effect had these orders?

A. Though established (as was said) to redress the grievances of the *Moriscoes*, they had a contrary effect, and only increased them. Of this the *Moriscoes* complained immediately to the emperor, upon their publication; particularly against the establishing the inquisition in the city of *Grenada*. However, the only relief they could obtain was, the emperor would not permit the estates of such *Moriscoes*, as were imprisoned by the inquisitors, to be confiscated; and permitted them to wear their cloaths after their old fashion. But it is said, that this indulgence cost them very dear; they making the emperor, who was in great want of money, a present of eighty thousand ducats on that occasion. After this, the friars continued to preach, and the inquisitors to burn the *Moriscoes*, till Anno 1568; when *Philip* of Spain, son of *Charles V*, being told that the *Moriscoes* of *Grenada* would for ever continue *Mahomedans*, except some other course was taken; and being, by the allowance of polygamy, a prolific people; they, by that means, would fill the kingdom of *Grenada*, in a few descents, with *Mahomedans*: His majesty (I say,) by the advice of his council, and the most politic of his clergy, published the following edict, in order

to extinguish, in the *Moriscoes*, all memory of their descent. 1st. That no person, in the kingdom of *Grenada*, should wear the *Moorish* habit. 2dly. That all the *Moorish* customs should be abolished. 3dly. That no person should be allowed to speak *Arabic*.—All these several things were prohibited upon pain of death.

Q. What was done afterwards, for the better enforcing of these laws?

A. The king, being sensible that the putting them strictly in execution, would greatly exasperate the *Moriscoes*; commanded that they all should be disarmed, and not be allowed any strong holds; nor be permitted to assemble anywhere in great numbers. Hereupon the *Moriscoes* deputed, privately, commissioners to the grand signior, and to the *Moors* of *Barbary*; informing them how cruelly they were treated, because they were *Mussulmen*: beseeching those princes, in the name of their great, common prophet *Mahomed*, to think of some expedient, whereby they might enjoy their religion in quiet, pursuant to the capitulation of *Grenada*. Upon this eight hundred *Turks* were sent, with a great quantity of arms and ammunition, into the kingdom of *Grenada*. These landing safely, and getting upon the mountains of *Grenada*; so great a number of *Moriscoes* flocked to them, from all parts, that they soon formed a considerable army; and so strongly fortified all the passes of the mountains, that they did not fear a much superior force. The instant they were in arms, they all renounced the Christian religion; declaring, that they had ever been true *Mahomedans* in secret; and were resolved to spend the last drop of their blood, in defence of their religion. They then not only turned all their churches into mosques; but likewise triumphantly burnt all the hosts, images, and relicks found in them; killing likewise a great many priests and friars, who had settled among them, in order to convert them to Christianity.

Q. What steps did the king now take?

A. The moment he heard that the *Moriscoes* were risen; he ordered the marquis of *Mondejar*, governor of the city of *Grenada*, to march against them, at the head of a body of troops. Though the marquis beat them, in most of the skirmishes; yet, in eighteen months time, he was neither
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able to conquer, nor starve them in the mountains, by cutting off their provisions: the *Moriscoes*, as well as the *Turks*, living upon plain diet, and in small quantities. His majesty fearing, in case the *Moriscoes* should keep the field much longer, that they should be reinforced, and supplied, by the *Turks* or *Moors*, with provisions and ammunition; sent a large, well disciplined army against them, under the command of his brother Don *John of Austria*; with orders for him to attack the *Moriscoes* vigorously on every side. This was done so effectually, by the young prince, that in a few weeks, (but with the loss of a great many men,) he did not leave a single *Morisco* in arms any where. Being thus totally subdued, they were all removed out of the kingdom of *Grenada*, whence they might easily have corresponded with the *Moors* of *Barbary*; and dispersed over the kingdom of *Castile*, and some other of the inland provinces: in which themselves, and their posterity, continued till the general expulsion in 1609 and 1610. But notwithstanding all the cruelties practised, to reconcile them to Christianity, they, with their descendants, still continued *Mahomedans* internally. Above 20,000 *Spaniards* were slain in the *Morisco* war above mentioned, which lasted about two years.

Q. What befell the *Moriscoes* of *Valentia* and *Arragon*?

A. These had all professed the *Mahomedan* religion during 300 years, after being conquered by the Christians; and though baptized by force, they yet were *Mahomedans* in their hearts, till their general expulsion from *Spain*. *James*, king of *Arragon*, who conquered *Valentia* in 1236; finding that he could not, without depopulating that kingdom, drive the *Moriscoes* out of it; commanded the clergy to labour earnestly at their conversion; both to save their souls, (as it was urged) and to make them good subjects to a Christian prince. And as few *Moriscoes* understood any language except the *Arabic*; he exhorted the friars to learn that language, in order to preach in it to the *Moriscoes*. He then erected two schools for the study of *Arabic*; upon which the friars, and particularly the *Dominicans*, applied themselves so assiduously to this language, that they became great proficient, as well as elegant preachers, therein. However, either through their own impatience, or
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the obstinacy of the *Moriscoes*, their preaching met with little success; and the friars, employed in this work, were every where representing the *Moriscoes*, as such incorrigible infidels, that they declared it would be impossible ever to convert them, except violent methods were used; adding, that they had wrought a great number of miracles among them, but without effect.

Q. What followed after this?

A. On these representations, concerning the obstinacy of the *Moriscoes*, in their religion; pope Clement IV. wrote a long letter to the abovementioned king James, containing the following particulars, among others: *Consider, (son) consider, how dangerous it is to permit Saracens to live in your kingdoms; for though they, for a time, may conceal their malice, merely through fear; yet, whenever an opportunity shall offer, they will discover it with fury: so that, by permitting these obstinate infidels to continue in your dominions, you nourish a serpent in your bosom, and fire in your lap.* The same pope wrote another letter to the abovementioned monarch, exhorting him to drive the Jews out of his dominions; containing the subsequent circumstances, among others: *Most glorious prince, you must not admit any Jews to bear offices, nor confer any honour on them; but, on the contrary, must, so far as the privileges allowed them by the apostolic see will permit, check their malice, and not suffer their blasphemies to go unpunished.* It is not known what effect this letter, with regard to the Jews, had on the king; but he was so strongly inflamed, by that writ to him concerning the *Moriscoes*; that, could he have had his will, he would not have left one of them alive, within his dominions, who should refuse to be baptized.

Q. How came he not to be gratified in his inclinations?

A. Because of the refusal, of one of the estates, in *cortez* or parliament assembled; the king having no authority to transact any thing of a public nature, without the concurrence of the three estates. His majesty calling a *cortez*, to try whether he might banish all the *Moriscoes* who should refuse to turn Christians, made the following speech at the opening of it: *Worthy senators! You all are witnesses of the great fatigues we have undergone, to conquer this city and kingdom; neither is our mind as yet at rest, not so much from*

a desire of making farther conquests, as out of zeal to win the souls of our subjects to Christ, and to his true religion. [What a mockery was all this!] To this holy enterprize we have made a beginning in this city, by commanding all the Moriscoes residing therein, either to turn Christians, or to remove elsewhere. But we have not yet been able to proceed so far, in the provinces. I therefore must observe to you, that since the war is at an end, and all things quietly settled; as the Moriscoes have been permitted to live peaceably in their houses, and on their lands; and, in order to make the yoke of their subjection easier, have been suffered to profess their own religion; their still persevering in the wicked sect of Mahomedism, is an undeniable proof that infidelity is deeply rooted in their hearts; and a farther declaration to the world, that they will never be faithful either to God, or to us. It was then proposed, that all such Moriscoes as might refuse to turn Christians, should be banished the kingdom; to which the commons and clergy assented: but the barons, to whom most of the Moriscoes were vassals; and whose lands would have produced little profit, after they who cultivated them had been sent away, opposed this design, as impolitic and wicked; declaring further, that the obstinacy of the Moriscoes, in refusing to turn Christians, was owing to the indolence of the priests, in not giving them proper instruction, rather than to the love of those Moriscoes for the Mahomedan religion. By this opposition of the barons, the Moriscoes were left undisturbed above three hundred years; till such time as the authority of the former was brought very low, by the policy of succeeding princes.

Q. When were the Moriscoes again disturbed?

A. In 1510, when, upon Ferdinand's having forced all those in the kingdom of Grenada, to turn Christians or quit Spain; the barons, fearing he would attempt the like in the kingdom of Valentia, obliged him, in a cortex assembled that year, to give his royal assent to a law, commanding that no person whatsoever should disturb the Moriscoes, in any part of the kingdom of Valentia. But the barons being sensible, that some persons were incessantly urging their princes, to banish the Moriscoes, wisely made it a part of the coronation oath; That the king should not, upon
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any pretence whatsoever, expel the Moriscoes ; nor force them, against their wills, to be baptized. However, the commons of *Valentia* having, in 1520, taken up arms, and driven the nobles, with the king's officers, out of the realm ; all the *Moriscoes* were commanded, upon pain of death, to receive baptism. This was done, by the commons, less out of zeal for the Christian religion, than out of hatred to the barons. The *Moriscoes*, being now seized with a panic, submitted throughout the whole kingdom to be baptized. But these forced baptisms occasioned their validity to be again inquired into by the divines. Afterwards the emperor *Charles V.* having reduced the commons to obedience ; it was declared, in an assembly of the clergy, (of which the inquisitor general was president,) that forced baptisms were valid ; and therefore, that all who returned to their former infidelity, should be deemed apostates. This being published in *Valentia*, caused great disturbances there, the *Moriscoes* fearing they should now be persecuted by the inquisition ; upon which multitudes of them declared, that they had never been baptized ; but had professed the Christian religion, merely to escape the fury of the commons.

Q. What ensued thereupon ?

A. The inquisitors not being able to disprove this pretence, because that the *Moriscoes*, who had been baptized in great numbers, were not registered ; petitioned the emperor to command all such *Moriscoes*, as had been baptized, to be confirmed ; and to order those who declared, that they had never been baptized, to receive that sacrament immediately, upon pain of perpetual slavery or banishment. But the emperor having bound himself by an oath, never to attempt this ; nor to desire, accept of, or make use of any dispensation with regard to this oath : pope *Clement VII.* sent him a dispensation in 1524 ; part of which runs thus : *And we do farther release your majesty, from the obligation of the oath which we are informed was taken by you, in the general estates of the said kingdoms and principalities, never to expel the said infidels ; absolving you from all censures and penalties with regard to the guilt of perjury, which you otherwise might thereby incur : and dispensing you, with respect to that promise, so far as it is necessary.*

necessary. And we do farther grant free and full power to the inquisitors, to compel all who shall contradict the same, or prove refractory, by ecclesiastical censures, and other proper and lawful methods; requiring the assistance of the secular arm.—And in case the Moors do still persist in the hardness of their hearts, and in their perfidiousness, so as not to embrace the faith of Christ, within a term, to be limited by the inquisitors; they then shall be commanded, upon pain of perpetual servitude and bondage, to depart the said kingdoms and principality of Catalonia; upon failure of which, within the said limited term, they all shall be made slaves. This papal dispensation shews, that laws, statutes, and oaths, though confirmed by the see of Rome, will no ways secure, under a popish prince, the lives, liberties, and properties of subjects, who are not Roman catholicks.

Q. What did the emperor, on his being absolved from this part of his coronation oath?

A. He commanded the chief inquisitor, to send preachers among the *Moriscoes*, to instruct them in the Christian faith; he writing, at the same time, the following letter, (dated Segovia, September 13, 1525,) Know ye that we, moved by the grace and inspiration of Almighty God, are resolved, not to suffer any religion, besides the Christian, to be professed within our kingdoms and dominions. Wherefore, desiring to promote the health and salvation of your souls, and to rescue you from the error and imposture you are under; we do beseech, intreat, and command you all to turn Christians; and immediately to receive the water of holy baptism. To this our command, if you yield a ready obedience, you shall possess all the liberties and franchises, which, by the laws of these kingdoms, are enjoyed by Christians. But in case you prove refractory, we will take some other curse with you. And whereas we are immovably fixed in this resolution, we would have you sensible of the benefit we intend you thereby, and conform yourselves to God's will and ours. At the same time a proclamation was issued, by the government of *Valentia*, commanding all the *Moriscoes*, under heavy penalties, to hear the preachers sent to them; and ordering the barons, to oblige all their vassals to go to church. A little after an edict was published, commanding all such *Moriscoes*, as were not baptized, to receive that sacrament forthwith, on the above penalties.

Q. How

Q. How did the barons of *Valentia* and *Arragon* act on this occasion?

A. The council of *Arragon* remonstrated strongly, to the emperor, against this edict; they observing, that it would be impossible to employ force against these infidels, without endangering the peace of the realm, and involving it in fresh troubles; of which danger, (they observed) and other great inconveniencies, that must necessarily attend the forcing the *Moriscoes* to be baptized, his majesty's ancestors were so fully sensible, that though they had often been vehemently importuned to use violence, they yet had never permitted it; having left the conversion of the *Moriscoes*, to their being sufficiently instructed in the Christian faith; as the only true way of converting infidels.—To all this, and much more, the emperor answered, that things, great in themselves, were ever attended with some considerable inconveniency; for which reason, princes, who engaged in mighty enterprizes, always overlooked such inconveniencies. That he observed this, in order to let them know, that though he was sensible, the conversion of the *Moriscoes* must necessarily create him much trouble, and give great offence: yet, as he thereby should do God eminent service, he was resolved, whatever might be the consequence, (now God had been so gracious, as to deliver his enemy, the *French* king, into his hands *,) to draw the *Moriscoes*, who were God's enemies, to his holy faith; and that since the purging of his dominions, of infidels and hereticks, would be the greatest demonstration he could possibly give of his thankfulness to the Almighty, for so signal a mercy; he therefore was determined to drive them out. Upon this answer, the inquisitor general, and his junta, dispatched several commissioners to *Valentia*, to require all the *Moriscoes*, who had been baptized, at the command of the commons, to come and be confirmed, upon pain of their being made slaves; but, upon repenting of their apostacy to the *Mahomedan* faith, to be absolved from it. These commissioners were well received, by the commons, in *Valentia*, but very unfavourably by the barons.

* *Francis I.*

Q. What happened to the *Moriscoes*?

A. All, or most of them who had been compelled by the commons to receive baptism, (and these were computed to be about 15 or 16000 families) having, the instant that persecution was over, returned to the open profession of the *Mahomedan* faith; as soon as they heard of the arrival of the commissioners, they fled, with their wives, their children and goods, to the mountains of *Bernia*; and the barons, so far from stopping them, as they might have done, rather encouraged them in their flight; hoping, by so great a commotion, to have obliged the emperor to act contrary to the counsels of the inquisitors. This, in all probability, would have happened, had not the young monarch's head (elated with the glory of his having taken the *French* king prisoner) been possessed by the inquisitors with a notion, that this honour had been bestowed, by the Almighty, on *Spain*, for no other reason, than to oblige its monarch, out of gratitude, not to permit a single person, unbaptized, to reside in his dominions: so wickedly artful are inquisitors, in giving an extraordinary interpretation to common things. This great body of *Moriscoes* fled to the mountains in *April*; and though the commissioners exerted their utmost endeavours, in order to bring them to a submission, this was not brought about till the middle of *August*; when the *Moriscoes*, finding that troops were come to attack them from all quarters, laid down their arms, upon promise of a general pardon; and being absolved, were all confirmed; which confirmation was exactly of a piece with their baptism; both being extorted, and without their having been ever so little instructed in the Christian religion. Not long after a proclamation was published, commanding all the unbaptized *Moriscoes*, to receive baptism, upon pain of perpetual slavery. This *general conversion*, (as it was called by the *Spaniards*) began in the city of *Valentia*, where it was soon over; there being but few *Moriscoes*, in that city, who had not been baptized at the command of the commons.

Q. What happened in *Almonacir*?

A. This being a great town inhabited by unbaptized *Moriscoes*, the gates were shut against the commissioners; and all therein able to bear arms, taking them up, declared
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they would die fighting, rather than be made slaves, or turn Christians. This town, after having been besieged near five months by regular troops ; after much blood had been spilt on both sides in attacks and sallies, was taken by storm the 14th of *April* ; when most of the *Moriscoes* therein were put to the sword ; the lives of the rest being spared, upon their submitting to be baptized. The baron of *Cortea* was singular in this respect, he being no less violent than the commissioners, in forcing his vassals to receive baptism ; but he paid very dear for it ; himself, with seventeen more, being murdered by the *Moriscoes*, as the *Spaniards* were converting them in a most imperious manner. *November 23*, the *Moriscoes* of the vallies of *Segorbe*, *Uxa*, and *Almanocir*, and of the river of *Meravedro*, having drawn the sword, resolved to die, rather than turn Christians ; they repaired, with their wives, their children, and goods, to the mountains of *Espadon*, firmly determined to lay their bones there, in case they should not be permitted to live, undisturbed, in the profession of the *Mahomedan* faith. On news of this great insurrection, the governors of *Valentia*, sent against them, with the commissioners, three thousand disciplined troops, in order to suppress it in the beginning ; but those troops being neither numerous enough to surround that long ridge of steep mountains, nor bold enough to attack them, the *Moriscoes* were but little molested : on the contrary, these, sallying out frequently by night in great bodies, returned laden with provisions ; of these they also obtained a good store from the *Moriscoes*, dwelling near those mountains, who, though baptized, used to declare, that they did not grudge to give the bread out of their own, and their childrens mouths, to feed *Mussulmen*, who were fighting for the honour of their prophet. It is related that the *Moriscoes*, in their sallies, gave no quarter to the old Christians ; and destroyed all the images and relics which came in their way. The insurrection increasing, the standard of *Valentia*, which all the barons are bound to follow when set up in the field, was sent to the mountains of *Espadon* ; but few followed it. The emperor, at that time in *Toledo*, finding that the armed *Spanish* apostles, had neither faith to remove mountains, nor courage to storm them, dispatched 3000

Germans

Germans who were with him; with exprefs orders for them to attack thofe mountaineers, without breaking ground. This the *Germans*, on their being joined by the *Spaniards*, did fo vigorously, that they, before noon, poffeffed themfelves of the mountains; and put all they met with, men, women and children, to the fword; whereas the *Spaniards* killed only the old people, pardoning the young, on condition that they would be baptized; notwithstanding which, after their being chriftened by the commiffioners, they fold them for flaves, as a punifhment for their rebellion. In this action above 5000 *Morifcoes* were killed, and not above fixty-three *Germans* and *Spaniards*. Such was the general conversion of the *Morifcoes* of *Valentia*; begun in *September* 1524, and ending in *October* 1525. On thefe occasions, the *Chriftians* made ufe of worfe methods, in making converts, than are employed by the *Mahomedans*.

Q. Did the emperor approve of this violence?

A. Though he, enflamed by the counfels of the pope and his agents, would have had the *Morifcoes* baptized by force; he yet did all that lay in his power to prevent their being drove out of *Spain*. Moft of the *Morifcoes*, who did not own their having ever been baptized; perceiving there was no remedy, but that they muft either quit their native country, or be flaves in it, in cafe they refufed to turn *Chriftians*, fubmitted to baptifm. Only about *Pianaguazil*, where the unbaptized were vaffly numerous, they took up arms to defend themfelves againft the *Spaniards*; but being quickly subdued, they alfo were forced to receive baptifm: fo that, after *Anno* 1526, not a fingle *Morifco*, throughout *Spain*, was left unbaptized. As thefe forced conversions made work for the inquifitors, who now had got all the *Morifcoes* immediately under their jurifdiction, they began to exercife their cruelty, upon them; vaff numbers being burnt every year, for having apoftatized from the *Chriftian*, to the *Mahomedan* religion. Upon this, the barons petitioning the emperor, that a flop might be put to thefe barbarities, till fuch time as the *Morifcoes* fhould be better inftructed in the *Chriftian* faith; the monarch, thinking this request reasonable, complied therewith; commanding, at the fame time, the chief inquifitor to fend a greater number of preachers among them.

With the friars of this mission, was *Micon*, a *Dominican*, who having preached many sermons to little or no purpose; he one day, in a fit of zeal, commanded the *Moriscoes*, his hearers, to fetch a dead body, in order that he might raise it to life, to confirm the truth of his doctrine: but the *Moriscoes* having no dead body, or not daring to fetch one, as this would have argued their distrust of the Christian religion, *Micon* descended triumphantly from the pulpit; insulting the *Moriscoes*, as not being willing to see a miracle wrought, in order to convince them of the truth of the Christian faith.

Q. What did the friars afterwards?

A. They, and particularly *Micon*, growing weary of preaching, excited the court to restrain the obduracy, as it was termed, of the *Moriscoes*; upon which, the inquisitors being again let loose upon those unhappy people, they were racked, whipped, banished, and burnt, during many years; till the barons, in *Cortez*, assembled at *Mocon*, Anno 1534, complained of these barbarities. They represented, that it was very unjust in the inquisitors, to punish those who had so lately been forcibly baptized, upon their being convicted of apostacy, with the same rigor as was exercised against the old Christians, born and bred in the faith, who were found guilty of the like crime. But all the barons could obtain was, that the inquisitors, in consideration of 50,000 foldos, to be paid them annually by the community of the *Moriscoes*, should have no share in the real or personal estates of any *Morisco* condemned by them; their real estates being to go to their lords, and their personal to their heirs at law. By this compact made through the interest of the barons, it was hoped that the avarice of the inquisitors would be satisfied; but it came to pass otherwise; the *Moriscoes* being still accused as incorrigible; and representations of their infidelity, coming from all quarters, to *Philip II*, who had married queen *Mary of England*; he cast about for expedients, in order to oblige his *Morisco* subjects to become true Christians; and for this purpose was perpetually summoning assemblies, either in *Madrid* or *Valentia*.

Q. What was the final issue of these enquiries?

A. The

A. The infidelity of the *Moriscoes* was, at last, judged to proceed, chiefly, from their not having ever been sufficiently instructed in the Christian faith. The friars who had been sent to preach among them, in all times, besides their great impatience, were commonly so exasperated against the *Moriscoes*, for their not being converted at the first or second sermon, that they afterwards did little else than rail at them and *Mahomed*; calling them obstinate dogs, and their prophet a devil incarnate. And, with regard to the priests who had the cure of their souls; as their benefices were very small, so they were commonly too ignorant to teach their flock the Christian religion. For the better instruction of the *Moriscoes*, the king was therefore exhorted to supplicate the pope, to permit their benefices to be augmented; and the building and endowing of new churches, and chapels among them, out of the ecclesiastical revenues of *Valentia*; thereby to encourage priests, of learning, piety, and all other requisite qualifications, to accept of the *Morisco* benefices. The king listening to this advice, preferable to that of his confessor, father *Pedro Fernandez*, who broke his heart because his majesty would not drive the *Moriscoes* out of *Spain*; obtained, from pope *Gregory XIII*, *Anno* 1576, a brief; charging all the ecclesiastical benefices, throughout *Spain*, with yearly pensions, in proportion to their revenues, towards the pious uses above mentioned. But this papal brief was one of the chief things which occasioned the expulsion of the *Moriscoes*; for the archbishops, and other ecclesiasticks, provoked by the heavy, new charge, (the unshaken obstinacy of the *Moriscoes*) were ever urging the king to rid *Spain* of them, as so many incorrigible heretics and apostates, on whom all instruction was thrown away; representing them also as rebels, who had invited the *Moors*, *Turks*, *English*, *French*, and *Dutch*, to invade *Spain*, with promises of assisting them to conquer it; and assuring them that this might be easily done, as that kingdom, (they said,) had neither men nor money.

2. Did the clergy, in obedience to the royal mandate, pay the new pension above mentioned?

A. No: but the archbishop of *Valentia*, in order that his refusing to pay it, might not be considered as flowing

from covetousness, or want of zeal, gave notice at the same time, that he would not prefer any clerk, to any benefice in his gift, except from the *Morisco* cures; and farther, that all who should go among the *Moriscoes*, and take most pains in instructing them, would be chiefly considered. He likewise, contrary to the laws of *Valentia*, pretended to admit priests of all nations into the *Morisco* cures: however, as these were not filled with more learned clerks, it is probable that they were not better endowed; nor do we read of any priests coming, from the other kingdoms of *Spain*, to accept of them: by which means the *Moriscoes* of that kingdom continued in much the same state, as to their religion, till 1576; when the king being told, that the most effectual way to make the *Moriscoes* true Christians, would be to pardon them all their former apostacies, he obtained an edict (of grace or pardon) from pope *Clement VIII.* for that purpose: but which was not published till two years after, viz. in 1599; on occasion of a letter sent by *Philip III.* to the archbishop of *Valentia*.

Q. What was the effect of this edict of grace?

A. The archbishop of *Valentia* presented three memorials, (in 1602,) to the king; all of them strongly urging that monarch to drive the *Moriscoes* out of *Spain*, in the most barbarous and cruel manner; by declaring them to be all errant hypocrites, who slighted the edict of grace, and would not quit the religion of *Mahomed*. He observed in his third memorial, that although he was seventy-two years old, he yet was afraid, in case the king did not expel the *Moriscoes*, from *Spain*, that he should live to see it ruined a second time by them. He afterwards put a paper into his hands, the substance of which was as follows:—After reflecting deeply on the affair of the *Moriscoes*; recommending it to God, and consulting the scriptures, as also divers grave and learned men: I humbly offer to your majesty, to cause an information, of all heresies and apostacies, to be taken by the bishops and parish-priests, of the several cities and towns inhabited by the *Moriscoes*, who must be examined, whether they go to confession, and do communicate; and whether they eat flesh or drink wine. Enquiry must also be made, whether they do not greatly encrease and multiply; have not an abhorrence for

for Christians, and an affection for *Mahomedans*; and are not disposed to join with any prince, who might allow them liberty of conscience. And if, after such informations, the *Moriscoes* should be found guilty, (as they certainly will,) they then may be sentenced to the loss of all their goods, and to perpetual banishment, within a short, limited time.—And though, in the strictness of justice, it be not necessary to take such informations; this nevertheless may be proper for the justification of your majesty's conduct; not to mention that such sentence will be a mitigation, both of the canon and civil law, which would condemn them capitally.—Nor can it be pretended, that there would be any injustice in thus condemning the *Moriscoes* unheard; since the evidence and notoriety, both of the fact and of the law, supplies that defect; and would do so abundantly, though they were to be punished capitally; it being most certain, that a prince, when both the crime, and the necessity of punishing it are notorious, may omit all judicial forms; and especially when such cannot be safely observed, as in the present case; in which, to prevent public disturbances, it is necessary, that the sentence and its execution do go together.—And though it may not seem so proper, for one of my profession, as for the council of state, to give directions with regard to the expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, I yet shall venture to propose as follows:—It must not be undertaken, without your majesty's having a strong army and fleet in readiness, to prevent insurrections. As I always considered your majesty's unsuccessful attempt upon *Algiers*, as a particular providence of God, graciously disposing all things for the best;—(O blasphemous reasoning!) this loss will serve as a blind, for your preparations, both by sea and land, in order to expel the *Moriscoes*: the world being of opinion, that as the enterprize, with regard to *Algiers*, was your majesty's first; you will not sit down easy, till you shall have visited it a second time. Your majesty may, if you think proper, take 4000 of the stoutest young men from the *Moriscoes*; and, upon pretence of employing them in your service, put them on board your gallies, as *Heraclius* did the *Saracens*. You also may send some thousands of them to your mines in the *Indies*; and thus go on,

consuming them, and preserving your old Christian subjects.

Q. Did this impious archbishop stop here?

A. He not only declared that the king was bound in conscience, and upon pain of his committing a mortal sin to extirpate the *Moriscoes*; but he also made use of arguments drawn, (as he declared,) from advantages both spiritual and temporal, which should induce him to destroy that unhappy people.—1. The prelates and parish priests will thereby be freed from the scruples they are under, with regard to their baptizing those whom they know will become apostates. 2. Your majesty, by selling all the *Morisco* children under seven years old, (computed to be above 35,000) will both receive large sums of money, and gain a great number of subjects, who, by being sold to old Christians, will all become good catholicks; and having lost the *Mahomedan* language, habit and ceremonies, will learn and observe those of our faith. 3. Your majesty may either send the most robust men among them to the gallies, or sell them to old Christians, among whom they cannot practise the *Mahomedan* ceremonies, without being observed. But particular care must be taken, not to permit any of the *Morisco* men or women to continue in *Spain*; as this would be of ill consequence to the *Morisco* children, who are to be bred up there, in the Christian faith. Your majesty may, without any scruple of conscience, make slaves of all the *Moriscoes*; and either put them on board your gallies, or into your mines, or sell them to foreigners. And whereas their number is very great, your majesty may, after having supplied your own gallies, sell the rest of them in *Italy*. And, as to their children, they may be all sold for good prices in *Spain*; and this, so far from being a punishment, will be a mercy to them, as they will all become Christians; which they would not have been had they continued with their parents. By the holy execution of this act of justice, a great sum of money will flow into your majesty's coffers. 5. The *Moriscoes*, being a laborious and industrious people, do, by working cheaper than the *Spaniards*, eat the bread out of their mouths; and, by means of their frugality and temperance, contribute very little to the public ex-
cises.

cises.—What an archbishop have we here!—Is this religion?—No!—The most shocking mockery, and the vilest profanation of its sacred dictates.

Q. What followed upon these memorials?

A. The archbishop of *Valentia*, not having paid, out of the revenues of his see, the annual pension of 3600 ducats, towards the maintenance of the *Morisco* schools, and benefices; was commanded, by the Roman pontiff, to pay the arrear of the said pension, amounting to 14400 ducats, towards building a college in the city of *Valentia*, for the instructing *Morisco* children in the Christian faith: but the archbishop had fallaciously omitted, in his copy of the papal brief, printed in *Spanish* at *Valentia*, whatever was said therein, with regard to the antient *Morisco* college having been of advantage to those people; the prelate declaring; *that this was all false; and that, his holiness had been misinformed by those who told him so; the Moriscoes, bred in that college, having afterwards turned as errant Mahomedans, as if they had never seen the college.*

Q. What did the barons of *Valentia* on this occasion?

A. They remonstrated unanimously, in a *Cortez* held *Anno* 1604, against the machinations of the archbishop, by declaring, the expulsion of the *Moriscoes* would prove the most fatal blow that could possibly be given to the kingdom; as it's lands would lie untilled, and all it's rich manufactures be ruined; those several works being carried on chiefly by the *Moriscoes*. The barons, in answer to the arguments employed by the prelate, to banish the *Moriscoes*, replied, that it was a mere chimera, to suppose *Spain* to be in any danger, from the great number of *Moriscoes* inhabiting it. That this objection had always been slighted by such of his majesty's wise ancestors, as were not governed by the whimsies and speculations of sedentary unexperienced persons, how holy and learned soever. They farther challenged the archbishop, and all others who accused the *Moriscoes* of holding intelligence with the king's enemies, to make good their accusation upon a fair, legal trial; in order that, upon it's being duly proved, they then might be punished; but which they ought not to be, merely on it's being boldly affirmed, that they were all guilty of treason.

son.—With regard to the assertion, that all the *Moriscoes* were *Mahomedans*, the barons answered : that they did not believe them to be so : but that in case they really were, the sending them all into *Barbary*, would not be a proper way of converting them to the Christian faith. That if the *Moriscoes* were all *Mahomedans*, this was chiefly owing to their ignorance in the Christian faith ; and to the rigour exercised upon them ; which made them hate both the Christians and their religion. The barons therefore humbly besought his majesty, to put a stop to all violent methods ; and to settle preachers among them, who, by tenderness and gentleness, might insinuate themselves into their affections, and thus easily convert them to the Christian religion. The barons employed many more arguments, to the same purpose. And whereas the *Moriscoes* were accused of giving intelligence to the *Moorish* pirates, where they might come ashore, and meet with a good booty : the barons offered, in the name of the *Moriscoes*, and at their expence, to redeem all such persons as should be carried into slavery, from the coast of *Valentia*, by the *Moorish* pirates.

Q. How did the king act, upon these remonstrances of the barons ?

A. He seemed resolved not to expel the *Moriscoes*, but to proceed in endeavouring to make them all true Christians. For this purpose he sent Don *Francisco de Quesada* to pope *Paul V*, from whom a brief was obtained, commanding the abovementioned *Morisco* college to be built and endowed ; and all the *Morisco* benefices to be made an hundred pounds each, annually, in order that they might be filled with men of probity and learning. But this brief produced no better effect than the two former ; whence one would suspect, that the pope himself was not very desirous of having them executed ; because, had he been so, he would not have permitted his authority to be trifled with, especially in so momentous a point as this, viz. his having a right to apply all the ecclesiastical revenues, as he should judge most conducive to the interest of the whole church. However this be, the archbishop, instead of advancing the arrears due on account of the last pension, where-

wherewith his fee stood charged, gave in a memorial, by way of answer to the arguments, which are so very futile that it would be only lost time to quote them.

Q. Was not the archbishop of *Valentia* seconded by others, in advising the king to drive the *Moriscoes* out of Spain?

A. The bishop of *Origuela* was also very violent on this occasion, he observing, among other things, *That the danger which the Spaniards were in from the Moriscoes, ought to alarm his majesty, so as not to permit him to delay securing Spain from such domestic enemies.* But the grand trumpeter of this expulsion was *James Bleda*, a *Dominican*, who, during several years, had travelled on foot between the courts of *Madrid* and *Rome*, purposely to excite the king and the pope, either to drive all the *Moriscoes* out of Spain, or to massacre them. He called such ecclesiasticks, as did not bark as loud as he did, *Dumb Dogs*; and assured all the old Christian laity, that whenever the king gave the word, they might justly butcher all the *Moriscoes*, though they should profess themselves Christians; and follow the holy and laudable example of the crusade, raised against the *Albigenses*, when father *Arnold*, a *Cistercian* monk, advised the butchery of all the inhabitants of *Beziers* (200,000) whether catholicks or not. But the most powerful promoter of the expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, was *Don Bernardo de Rojas y Sandoval*, cardinal, archbishop of *Toledo*, inquisitor-general, and chancellor of Spain. This prelate, brother to the duke of *Lerma*, who entirely governed the king; was so zealous for extinguishing the whole race of the *Moriscoes*, that he even opposed the detaining of their children, who were under seven years old; affirming, that it were better to cut the throats of all the *Moriscoes*, men, women, and children, than to leave any of their children in Spain, to pollute the true *Spanish* blood, by it's mixture with the *Moorish*. It is thought that this prelate went to *Rome*, in 1607, to promote the expulsion of the *Moriscoes*; that the Roman pontiff sent two orders to the *Spanish* prelates, for them to give the king a handle for driving out all the *Moriscoes*; and that the prelates of *Valentia*, after consulting for some months, came to the following determination, which they sent privately to the king, viz. *The*

Moriscoes of the kingdom of Valentia, are certainly all apostates from the Christian faith; and so obstinate in their infidelity, that there remains no hopes of ever being able to convert them to it. Hereupon the court absolutely resolved upon the expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, though it was not executed till about two years after: nor was this determination known to any, except the cabinet-council, till the vespers of the execution; when the king had put his affairs in such a posture, as not to fear any opposition from the barons. This impolitic determination was chiefly owing to the horrid counsels of duke *De Lerma*, and the cardinal his brother.

Q. From what other motive was the king excited to this expulsion?

A. Being naturally fearful and superstitious, he was strongly wrought upon by his ministers, who observed to him, that he was loudly and frequently called upon, from all parts, to begin this expulsion: that heaven discovered it's will, for this purpose, by miraculous signs and judgments: for on this horrid occasion, all the antiquated fabulous *Spanish* prodigies were revived; and these, as well as every other extraordinary appearance, and event, were declared to be so many prognosticks of the expulsion of the *Moriscoes*; and all public disasters and calamities, were ascribed wholly to it's having been so long delayed. The archbishop of *Valentia* observed, in another memorial presented by him to his majesty;—That whilst he (the prelate) studied at *Salamanca*, all the scholars of that university blamed the emperor *Charles V*, for not banishing the *Moriscoes*: adding, that God permitted the *Moriscoes* to reside in *Spain*, to punish, if not destroy the *Spaniards* for their sins. This (continued the archbishop) is so universally the opinion, that, upon all new appearances of comets; upon the bell of *Vilila's* (a village in *Arragon*) ringing of itself; and on every public loss and calamity, by sea or land; all the old Christians immediately cry aloud, that *Spain* will be destroyed for permitting so many *Moriscoes* to remain in it. His majesty was likewise told of dreadful thunders, lightnings, tempests, and earthquakes, in several parts of *Spain*; and of it's being legible, in them, that they were judgments, on that kingdom, for harbouring so many

many infidels. To this also was imputed the failure of the invincible armada, (as it was falsely termed,) against *England*, in 1588; for that God would never permit the *Spaniards*, to convert hereticks, so long as they should suffer so many *Mahomedans* to dwell among them *. It was added, that the great conjunction, seen in the heavens, *December 24, 1603*, though visible all over *Europe*; appeared for no other end, than to inform the *Spanish* king of the intention of the Almighty, viz. to make him the instrument for destroying the *Mahomedan* sect, and all its mighty empires.

Q. Were not other engines employed, to exasperate the king?

A. *Francisco Navarra*, in a book dedicated to that monarch, declared, that the late strange conjunction in the heavens, denoted the diminution of the *Mahomedan* empire; and the great declension of the sect of *Mahomed* within twenty years; that is, before *Anno 1623*, or *1624* at farthest: and that, before *1661*, that whole empire would be at an end; and, before *1654* or *1656*, the *Mahomedan* sect totally extinguished.—*Navarra* continued thus, (addressing himself to the king:) Neither is the beginning, only, of so great a work reserved for your majesty, as the wisest of monarchs, and the most firm pillar of the Christian faith; but the chief part of it is to be accomplished by your majesty, who will conquer vast empires; and particularly the holy land, now possessed by the *Mahomedans*.

Q. What did the archbishop of *Valentia* next?

A. He deputed a particular envoy to the pope, to persuade him to labour at the expulsion of the *Moriscoes*: and he also sent him an inflammatory letter. This old archbishop, being sensible, that the dispersion of so many thousand families, as must follow on the expulsion, would fill the world with horror, except the [supposed] treason of the *Moriscoes* should be set forth: advised the king, for his own justification, to cause a general information to be taken, throughout *Spain*, of the apostacies and treasons of the *Moriscoes*. Had such an information taken place, the

* What a horrid profanation, thus to sport with the decrees of the Almighty!

prelate

prelate had prepared articles of impeachment against the *Moriscoes*.

Q. What was the substance of those articles?

A. 1. That the *Moriscoes* rejoiced exceedingly, whenever they heard of the *Spaniards* being defeated by the *Turks* or *Moors*. 2. That they commended nothing so much as liberty of conscience in religious matters. 3. That, whenever an opportunity offered, they either murdered such old Christians as came among them, (and especially old Christian beggars;) or kept them in caves, till they might have an opportunity of selling them to the *Barbary Moors*. 4. That the images of the saints, left in their houses, were often found in very indecent places; with their heads downward, and with marks of great contempt upon them. 5. That they expressed, when at church, no devotion either for the sacrament, the images, or the sacred relics; and that the *Moriscoes*, when pretending, outwardly, to worship the wafer; were mocking it, with their fingers under their cloaks. 6. That, to frighten their children, they used to say, the Christians were coming, to take them away. 7. That they, in general, were extremely solicitous to provide *Morisco* nurses, and schools-masters, for all poor *Morisco* orphans. 8. That none were so much honoured by them, as those *Moriscoes* who had been whipt publicly by order of the inquisition, or wore the *San Benito*. 9. That when any of the *Moriscoes* escaped to *Barbary*, they spake more contemptuously of the Christian faith than the *Moors* themselves. 10. That they had not only *Mahomedan* religious teachers; but likewise judges. 11. That they thought no corn grew so well, as that sown on *Sundays* and holidays. 12. That they were great enemies to clocks and bells. 13. That they thought it a great sin, in a *Morisco*, to accuse any of his brothers to the inquisition. 14. That they, to prevent their expiring friends from sending for a priest, used to give out, that they died suddenly. 15. That all who were examined at the place of execution, declared, their being *Mahomedans*. 16. That they all sent intelligence to the *Moors* of *Barbary*.—The reason why no informations were taken against the *Moriscoes*, was, for fear of their being opposed by the barons; the *Spanish* court judging, that it was more adviseable to neglect

neglect the censure of the world, than to struggle with the opposition which would have been made by the nobles in question, should they hear of the design before it was put in execution.

Q. What may be observed on the above articles?

A. Some of them were either mere inventions, or the facts only of some particular *Moriscoes*; but these were certainly guilty of apostacy. With regard to their rejoicing, whenever the *Spaniards* were defeated by the *Turks* or *Moors*; this may be naturally supposed, when we reflect on the barbarous treatment these *Moriscoes* met with from the inquisition; whence they might naturally wish to live under a prince, who would permit them to enjoy liberty of conscience. But then it does not follow, that they were actually engaged in any treaty, with the *Moors*, *Turks*, *English*, *French*, or *Dutch*; and of this we have no certain traces, spite of what the *Spaniards* assert with regard to *Henry IV*, of *France*, who, upon his being accused of tampering with the *Moriscoes*, in order for them to disturb the peace of *Spain*, replied, *That this was an artifice of that court, which had extorted, by torture, such confessions, from the mouths of some wretches, executed for other crimes; or else had forged them into their forged wills and testaments: in order that whenever the court of Spain should be found stirring up his (king Henry's) subjects to commit treasons, they might have matter to recriminate, with some appearance of truth.*—With regard to the *Moriscoes* being all *Mahomedans*, (internally,) the truth of this is not to be doubted; for they, at their being drove out of *Spain*, were for retiring to *Barbary*, where their religion was professed. Farther, so soon as ever they arrived among the *Moors*, we read of few, or none of them, who ever fled back to *Spain*, or to any *Spanish* garrison in *Barbary*; which they might, and would have done, had they really been Christians.

Q. To what may we ascribe the strong aversion of the *Moriscoes*, to the Christian religion?

A. It might, perhaps, have been owing to the following causes, among others. 1. As the *Moriscoes* from their conquest to their expulsion, had lived in great numbers together; not only entire villages, but even cities and coun-
tries,

tries, being inhabited almost wholly by *Moriscoes*; they, by thus living together might greatly encourage one another in their infidelity, and their hatred of the *Spaniards*. 2. Their still continuing to speak the *Arabic* language only, as did most of their women, and all their children: and, as this was a great obstacle to their being instructed in the Christian religion, (few or none of the Christian missionaries understanding a word of that language;) so it must still preserve the remembrance of their being the same people with the *Moors*, (enemies to the Christians,) whose language that was, and the book of whose law was written therein. 3. Their living so near the *Barbary Moors*, whereby few weeks passed, in which they did not hear something concerning them and their affairs. And, as all the *Moriscoes* knew that *Spain* had once been conquered by the *Moors*, (their ancestors,) and valued themselves greatly upon that account; so it is not improbable but that they, after the example of all conquered nations who are not become one people with their conquerors, might still feed themselves with hopes, derived from vain prophecies, or idle, traditional stories, of seeing the *Moors*, (who hate Christianity,) again masters of *Spain*. 4. The impolitic care which the *Spaniards* took, to distinguish themselves from the *Moriscoes*, by calling themselves *Old*, and the *Moriscoes*, *New Christians*; and by excluding these from all offices and benefices, in church and state; which exasperated the *Moriscoes*, both against the Christian religion and it's professors. 5. The *Spaniards* worshipping of images, to which both *Jews* and *Mahomedans*, have the strongest aversion. But the most probable cause of the violent hatred which the *Moriscoes* bore to the *Spaniards*, as well as of their infidelity, seems to have been, the shocking cruelties exercised by the inquisition: it being impossible for people to entertain a favourable opinion of a religion, which transformed it's disciples into such barbarous monsters.

Q. Was not the expulsion of all the *Moriscoes*, from the kingdom of *Valentia*, at last resolved upon?

A. This was fixed for the month of *September* 1609, by the king, and the *ANGEL* of his great council, (for so the friars called the duke of *Lerma*; and thereupon orders had been

been secretly dispatched, some months before, to the commanders in chief of the men of war and gallies of *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Italy*, to have their fleets in readiness to sail by the *August* following, with a certain number of land-forces on board. This having been done, upon pretence of making some attempts on the coast of *Barbary*; new orders were issued to the fleet of *Spain*, consisting of twenty ships, with 1000 soldiers on board, for it to sail to the ports of *Vinaces* and *Albaques*:—The fleet of *Naples*, (seventeen ships, with 2075 soldiers on board) was commanded to sail to the port of *Denia*:—The gallies of *Sicily* (nine in number,) and those of *Portugal*, having 2400 soldiers on board, were ordered to sail to *Alicant*:—The barons, who did not immediately suspect, that these preparations were making, to transport the *Moriscoes* into *Barbary*; were first alarmed, by Don *Pedro de Mercia*, governor of the city of *Antwerp*, and a great soldier, he being sent from court, to *Valentia*, to command the land-forces: and Don *Pedro de Toledo*, admiral of the *Spanish* fleet, being ordered at the same time to *Denia*, to command the whole fleet. Though these, upon their respective arrivals, still pretended that their design was to make a descent, on some part of the coast of *Barbary*; yet the barons, from several circumstances, imagined this to be only a blind; and that the real intention of it was, to carry off all the *Moriscoes*. What confirmed them greatly in this suspicion, was, their archbishop's laying in an extraordinary store of meal, wine, and fewel; and his taking such a number of men and arms into his house, as though he expected to be besieged in it; this prelate being in the secret.

Q. What did the barons?

A. They assembled in the city of *Valentia*, which, by the constitution of the government, they might, whenever this was judged necessary: when, after having spoke their thoughts freely, concerning the then grand preparations; they dispatched deputies, to *Marques de Carazena*, their viceroy; to enquire of him, the destination of them. The viceroy, though much vexed at this assembly of the *Military Arm*, (for so such meetings of the barons are called) he yet received their deputies with great civility: desiring

desiring them to assure the barons, in his name, that whatever his majesty might intend, by the preparations then making; it certainly could have no other view than to promote the honour and interest of the kingdom of *Valentia*; and that the barons could not justly suspect that the court harboured any thing sinister, with regard to their liberties or privileges; as the duke of *Lerma*, their countryman, who had a great estate among them, was first minister.—However, as the barons, after the above answer, did not doubt but that the expulsion of the *Moriscoes* was resolved; and not being equally certain that a first minister might be faithful to the true interest of his country, as they were, that this expulsion would be of infinite prejudice to *Valentia*; it was therefore proposed, that they should instantly dispatch deputies to court, to remonstrate, in their names, against this expulsion; as an act of the utmost prejudice, to them, and to the whole kingdom. The entire body of barons agreed to this: (count *De Tindil* and his brother only excepted:) for these, though they pretended to condemn the expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, as much as the other barons: they yet opposed the sending of deputies to court, upon pretence that such deputation would be ill taken, and signify nothing; it not being natural to imagine that the king, after having been at such vast expence, would, by any remonstrance they might offer, be diverted from his design. This was taken most heinously ill by all the rest of the barons; they observing to the count and his brother, that, as little prejudice would be done to their estates, by the projected expulsion, since they had but very few *Morisco* vassals; they therefore did not care what the public might suffer thereby.—As, by the constitutions of the *military arm*, nothing could be done therein, without the unanimous voice of all it's members, the barons adjourned till next morning, without coming to any resolution.

Q. What did the viceroy?

A. Being informed of the late violent heat of the barons, he ordered the chief judge of the Chancery, to be present at their meeting next morning, in order for him to try if he could soften their animosity; and, if possible, prevent their sending deputies to court. However, the barons, when assembled, declared, (spite of all the judges could say)

say) that they would not be prevented, either by artifice or unreasonable opposition, from discharging their duty to their country and their posterity. Proceeding afterwards to name their deputies, the lord chief justice in criminal matters entered; when he commanded them, upon their allegiance to adjourn, and repair to their respective abodes before night. The barons, being now more exasperated than ever, and assembling next morning, they all drew their swords, the moment they entered the Senate-House; declaring, that they would not sheathe them, till they had compleated the business for which they were met. The lord chief justice, whom the viceroy had sent to them again; as he was exhorting the barons, with great vehemence, to put up their swords, and behave as became good subjects, fell dead in the place where he stood. Had such an accident befallen the barons, on this occasion, the friends to the expulsion would have pronounced it a judgment; and they did not scruple to give out, that the chief judge had been slaughtered, by the barons in the Senate-House.

Q. What farther measures did the barons take?

A. Although this surprizing accident hindred them, for some hours, from naming their deputies, they yet appointed them, before their rising; and drew up their instructions, in substance as follows: *To assure the king, and the duke of Lerma, in their names, that should the Moriscoes, by whom all the work was done, be drove out of Valentia, that kingdom would be absolutely ruined.* The deputies, hastning to Madrid, and obtaining an audience of his majesty, delivered the letter from the barons, directed to him; they having given that, writ to duke *De Lerma*, before. The king, after hearing all that the deputies had to offer against the expulsion, said; "They came too late; the ban, for expelling the *Moriscoes* out of *Valentia*, having been already published in that kingdom, (the day before.)" His majesty added, "That he had sent a letter to the barons, which he was certain would satisfy them."—The king, in this letter, after taking notice of the long, but fruitless endeavours employed to convert the *Moriscoes*; declared, "That whilst he was labouring at their conversion, he had received advice, from different quarters, that
" the

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“ the *Moriscoes* had sent deputies to *Constantinople* and
 “ *Morocco*, to invite the *Turk* and *Muley Selim* to come to
 “ their assistance ; with an assurance that 50,000 men,
 “ who were all as true *Mahomedans* as any in *Barbary*,
 “ were ready to sacrifice their lives and estates in their ser-
 “ vice ; and would join them immediately on their landing
 “ in *Spain*. That, to encourage them to undertake this
 “ enterprize, the *Moriscoes* had said, that the conquest of
 “ *Spain* would be very easy ; there being few men in it
 “ capable of bearing arms ; and still fewer acquainted
 “ with military discipline. It concluded with saying
 “ that they had held correspondence, with heretical, and
 “ other princes, enemies to *Spain*.”—There were many
 more particulars in this letter, which was dated *St. Lawrence*,
September 11, 1609 : and was delivered to the barons, who
 were no ways satisfied with the contents of it.

Q. When was the ban or proclamation, for the expulsion of
 all the *Moriscoes* out of the kingdom of *Valentia* published ?

A. The 22d of *September 1609*. It was directed to all
 the *grandees*, *prelates*, &c. &c. &c. &c. and to all persons
 whatsoever, by sound of trumpet, in all public places of
 the city of *Valentia* ; and soon after in the several cities
 and towns of that kingdom. It contained in substance :—
 That all the *Moriscoes* of the kingdom of *Valentia*, men,
 women, and children, shall, within three days after the
 publication of this ban in the place where they live, go to-
 wards the place appointed by the commissioners for their
 embarkation ; taking with them so much of their moveable
 goods as they can carry ; there to embark on board the
 galleys and ships, which lie ready to convey them to *Bar-
 bary* ; where they shall be landed, without any molestation
 whatsoever to their persons, or to the goods they take with
 them. And although, whatever is necessary for their sub-
 sistence, shall be provided for them on board the ships ;
 they yet may lay in whatever provision, they, for them-
 selves, may think proper : the violation of which order,
 in any one particular, shall be punished with death. 2. If
 any of the *Moriscoes* shall, after the publication of this
 ban, absent themselves from the places where they lived,
 they may be apprehended by any one who shall meet them ;
 and in case of their refusal, to go before the next justice,
 it

it shall be lawful to kill them. 3. If any of the said *Moriscoes*, shall hide or bury any goods they cannot carry with them; or set fire to their houses, orchards, trees, or corn, they shall be put to death by the people of the place where this is done; his majesty granting all their possessions, moveable and immoveable, (those which they take with them excepted) to the lords whose vassals they were. 4. No *Morisco* shall remove, upon pain of death, from the place where he was, at the publication of this ban; but continue there, till the commissioners, who are to conduct them to the sea-side, do come to them. 5. For the preservation of the houses, ingenios of sugar, granaries of rice, aqueducts, &c. and for the instruction of the new inhabitants, who are to succeed to all those works, his majesty has been pleased to grant, that in every town where there are 100 *Morisco* families, six may remain, with their wives and children: provided the latter have never been married, but are still under the tutelage of their parents. With regard to such *Moriscoes*, as are to remain in places belonging to the king, and to us; care will be taken to prefer the most antient, and husbandmen; together with those who are supposed to be the most sincere Christians, or seem best disposed to become such. 6. No soldier, or other person, shall dare to treat any *Morisco* ill; or meddle with their persons, their wives, or goods. 7. None shall presume to conceal, or assist in concealing any of the *Moriscoes*; or connive at their absenting themselves, upon pain of being condemned for six years to the galleys, &c. 8. That the *Moriscoes* may be assured, that they will be only banished *Spain*, and landed without any molestation, on the coast of *Barbary*; we will permit ten *Moriscoes*, of the first voyage, to return; and inform those, left behind, in what manner they were used. The captain-general of the galleys, at every embarkation, shall not suffer any soldier or mariner to abuse the *Moriscoes*. 9. All children under four years old, may stay behind. 10. Children, whether male or female, who are not above six years of age, one of whose parents is an old Christian, may stay; and their mother with them, though she be a *Morisco*: but if the father be such, and the mother an old Christian, he shall be banished, and the children, under six years old, remain

remain with their mother. 11. Those likewise may stay, who have lived any considerable time among old Christians; and have not, for two years before, been at any of the *Morisco* meetings. 12. Such also may stay, as, with the leave of their prelate, shall have received the blessed sacrament; and can produce a certificate thereof from their parish priest. His majesty is graciously pleased [very graciously, indeed,] to grant leave to the said *Moriscoes* to go into any kingdom out of the *Spanish* dominions, provided they depart from their respective habitations, within the time limited.

Q. What did the viceroy, on the publication of this ban?

A. Not being a greater friend to this expulsion, than the other barons; and knowing how highly the nobility and gentry would resent the publication of this ban; and that it would make all the *Moriscoes* desperate; he therefore published, at the same time with it, orders for securing the peace of the kingdom. He appointed several regiments of soldiers to guard the walls of the city of *Valentia*; the familiars of the inquisition were commanded to guard their house; and the gentlemen and exempts the palace. Five companies of soldiers were appointed to mount guard every night.—The orders proceeded thus:—The soldiers, when upon guard, shall not leave their posts during a moment; and, to prevent disorders, they shall not be permitted to carry their arms through the streets, when they go to their houses. The city-gates shall be shut at the usual hour; and the four chief gates, when once shut, shall not be opened without our order. None shall presume, upon pain of death, to make any alarm. The main guard shall not beat an alarm, without our particular order. The villages about the city shall keep a strong guard. In case there should be occasion for a general alarm, it shall be given by striking the great bell, in the archiepiscopal cathedral, with a hammer; and, on this signal, candles shall be set in the windows of all the houses: the men shall all repair to their colours, and all the women and children keep within doors. And, as the suburbs, with the fifteen convents of nuns and friars in them are most exposed to danger; a strong body of soldiers shall be quartered

quartered about them ; a whole troop of which shall patrol every night.—The archbishop afterwards published two mandates, directed to his clergy ; exhorting them to promote, to the utmost of their power, the expulsion. He therein observed, among other shocking particulars, that “ were not the expulsion to take place, great plagues from heaven, if not the destruction of the kingdom, might justly be dreaded.”—Speaking, farther, concerning the expulsion ; he blasphemously declares *the king to be enlightened by the Holy Ghost ; and to have no other view therein than the doing God service.* He applauds the monarch to the skies, for his conduct on this occasion ; and preached a sermon, in his cathedral, on the following text : *I wish they were cut off that trouble you.* Galatians, v, 12.—Thus did the wicked archbishop wrest the words of scripture, to colour the most inhuman design. He afterwards advised the king to expel all the *Morisco* children ; about 40,000 of whom were born every year in *Spain* ; by which means, (it was said,) the *Spanish* blood would no longer be polluted, by it's mixture with that of the *Moriscoes*.—This last reflexion was made by the cardinal of *Toledo*, inquisitor-general, and the great mover of the expulsion.

Q. What did the *Moriscoes* ?

A. After being a little recovered, from the panic into which the publishing of the ban of expulsion had thrown them : some of their chief men met privately together in *Valentia* ; to consult whether it would not be possible to divert the dreadful storm, which was rushing upon them so unexpectedly. For the *Moriscoes*, during two years before, (*i. e.* from the time of the expulsion had been resolved upon by the court,) were far less molested, about religion, than they had ever been, since their baptism. Their adversaries, during that interval, had winked at them, purposely to have clearer demonstrations of their being *Mahomedans* ; whereby few or none, could receive any benefit by the exception in the ban, *viz. of all those who, within two years, had received the sacrament, with licence from their prelates.* It was agreed, in this assembly of the *Moriscoes*, that they should present an address to the viceroy, wherein, after giving him all possible assurances of their loyalty ; and of their having never held correspondence with the
Moors,

Moors, or any other of the king's enemies; they should offer a large sum of money to the king; and promise, in case his majesty would graciously please to revoke the ban, to maintain, at all times, a considerable number of gallies; likewise to build and maintain several forts upon the coasts, to defend them against insults from the *Barbary Moors*, and all the other enemies of *Spain*; likewise, that they would redeem all the *Spaniards*, at that time slaves in *Barbary*; and for ever ransom all who might hereafter be taken, from *Valentia*, by the *Moors*.—This address being presented, to the viceroy, by eight of the most antient and most venerable men of that assembly; the only answer made was, *That it would be to no purpose for them, to think of any thing but their implicit submission to the ban; the king being resolved to have it put immediately in execution.*

Q. How did the *Moriscoes* receive this answer?

A. The instant the deputies brought it to their assembly, some of the most fiery among them, proposed a general rising of all the *Moriscoes* in the kingdom, as the only remedy they had left; but this motion, considering their present circumstances, and that of the government, being rejected as madness; they could think of no better expedient to force the *Spaniards* to permit them all to abide; than to persuade those *Morisco* families, whom the ban permitted to remain, not to accept of that grace, in case their brethren should be drove out; and thus leave the *Spaniards* to their option, either to keep them all, or none. This expedient having been soon whispered into the ears of all the *Moriscoes*, wrought, suddenly, a most amazing change in them. They who, a month before, had besought, on their knees, the lords, whose vassals they were, to permit them and their families to stay; could not now be persuaded to this, spite of whatever their lords might say or do; all of them, to a man, declaring resolutely, that they would run the same fortune, whatever this might be, with their brethren; they being firmly determined, to stay if they staid, or go with them if they departed. This sudden resolution of the *Moriscoes* perplexed the barons exceedingly, nothing having so much reconciled the ban, to them, as the exception procured by the viceroy, of six *Morisco* families out of every hundred; which now was totally defeated by
this

this resolution. For though it had been so ordered, that the corn-harvest was all in, before the ban was published, yet the vintage was scarce begun; and, as to the sugar, and many other articles, they would be quite spoilt, if none of the *Moriscoes* could be prevailed upon to stay long enough to instruct, in the managing of them, the old Christians, who then knew nothing of that sort of work.

Q. What followed farther on this resolution of the *Moriscoes*?

A. Duke *De Gandia*, having a great estate in such works, offered every sixth *Morisco* family, out of an hundred, who were upon his lands, any thing they might ask, provided they would but stay with him. To this his *Moriscoes* replied, *That though they were very unwilling to abide after their brethren, yet, if he could procure them liberty of conscience; so many families, as the ban permitted, would continue in his service; otherwise, that it would be impossible for him to prevail with a single Morisco to remain.* The duke petitioned the viceroy for such a liberty, (though with little hopes of it's being granted by the king) only for two or three years; till some old Christians should be taught, by the *Moriscoes*, how to carry on those works. To which petition the viceroy answered, *That such a liberty would not be granted, not even for a single day, upon any consideration whatsoever.* The *Moriscoes* were equally obstinate, as to their children, when exhorted by their parish priests, to leave them behind. For when these were endeavouring to persuade them to it, by observing how troublesome and dangerous it would be, to carry so many thousand children on board the gallies, which must necessarily be crouded with other passengers; and whose nurses, having never been at sea before, would certainly be so sick, that it would be impossible for them to tend their helpless infants: the *Moriscoes* answered, that though they knew all this, and infinitely more than they told them; they yet were resolved, that their children should go whithersoever they themselves went; and, that they had much rather see them die on board the gallies, or any where else, than leave them in the hands of a people, who had been so cruel to their parents.

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Q. When

Q. When did the *Moriscoes* go aboard?

A. The commissioners, who were to conduct them to the sea ports, where ships and gallies lay ready to receive them, having been appointed by the viceroy, they repaired to their several posts; when the *Moriscoes* of *Gandia*, and of the sea coast, having been ordered to embark first, 6000 of them were put on board the gallies of *Naples*; 14,000 on board the men of war, and gallies lying at *Alicant*; and 8000 on board the ships and gallies at *Vineros*. These fleets having joined at sea, had a very quick passage to *Oran*, a garrison belonging to the *Spaniards* in *Barbary*; where, being all put ashore, deputies were sent to the viceroy of *Tremezen**, requesting him to receive them as a people expelled *Spain*, for being *Mahomedans*. The viceroy, having received the deputies with great kindness, immediately dispatched *Cid Almanzor* to them, with 500 *Spanish* genets, and 2000 camels, to carry their women, their children, and baggage: which order was executed, by *Almanzor*, with great care and tenderness; he not permitting any of his men, or the peasants, to offer them the least insult, or do them any injury during their whole journey. Being arrived at *Tremezen*, they were hospitably entertained, and allowed all the privileges indulged the natives†; and these are still enjoyed by their posterity, who are since become vastly numerous in those parts. Of all the *Moriscoes* expelled *Spain*, on this occasion, none were so well treated as these of the first embarkation; of which kind usage there, as well as on board the ships and gallies, a relation, (pursuant to his majesty's command,) was carried back to *Spain*, by ten *Moriscoes* of that embarkation.

Q. How were the other *Moriscoes* conveyed?

A. The king being informed that his fleets, though they were to make two voyages more, (which were all could be performed that year,) would not carry half the *Moriscoes* of *Valentia*; ordered all the merchant-ships at *Lisbon*, *Cales*,

* This forms part of the kingdom of *Algiers*. † Notwithstanding what is here said, concerning the very agreeable reception which the *Moriscoes* met with in *Barbary*, in the manner described above—other writers declare, that the *Moriscoes* were transported from *Spain* to a barren coast of *Barbary*, with little or nothing to subsist on.

Barcelona, &c. to sail to the abovementioned ports of the kingdom. Great numbers of ships came likewise from *Genoa*, *Majorca*, and the other islands; and these were hired, by such *Moriscoes*, as did not chuse to venture themselves on board the king's ships. Thus all the *Moriscoes* of *Valentia*, not in arms, were landed in *Barbary* before the close of *November*. There were transported, at this time, 140,000 men, women, and children.

Q. Was there not an insurrection among the *Moriscoes*?

A. A bold *Morisco*, *Melini Sequeira* by name, having withdrawn himself, after the first embarkation, to the mountains of sugar, inhabited wholly by *Moriscoes*; exhorted them to take up arms, in defence of themselves and their families; and to die, sword in hand, rather than submit to go tamely on board the galleys, like so many sheep to the slaughter; as all the *Moriscoes*, who were embarked, had done. *Melini*, by means of this melancholy story, soon got together 15,000 *Moriscoes*, who proclaiming him their king, they all promised to live and die with him.

Q. What was done by this *Morisco* army?

A. Historians say, that as the viceroy did not send out any troops against them, till the embarkations were all over, these *Moriscoes* grew very cruel and insolent; they murdering all priests and friars who came in their way; and burning publicly all the images and relicks found, by them, in the churches and houses; particularly the images of *St. Vincent Ferrera*, who had preached many years to their ancestors. However, no sooner were the embarkations finished, than *Don Austin Mexia* was sent, with a great body of veteran troops, to reduce them; and though the *Moriscoes* fought very desperately, and had the advantage of the ground; yet, being badly armed, and ill-officered, they were soon subdued; and their king being taken prisoner, was sent to *Valentia*, and there executed as a traitor. Another great insurrection of the *Moriscoes* broke out at the same time, in the *Meula de Cortex*. It was headed by *Vincent Turigo*, but quelled by *Conde Carlet*, with a great slaughter of the *Moriscoes*, whose leader *Vincent* being taken, he dispatched himself in prison. Such *Morisco* men and women as were made prisoners in these

two commotions, were immediately put on board, soon after which they were landed on the coast of *Barbary*; but their children, (a great many thousands) were sold to the *Spaniards*, by the soldiers, for ten, twelve, or fifteen ducats each. On this great sale of *Morisco* children, a very warm debate arose among the casuists, whether it was lawful, for such as had bought them, to make them slaves. The king being inclined to mercy, declared them, by his royal proclamation, not to be slaves.—I am to observe, that the viceroy was as strongly against the expulsion, as the archbishop had promoted it; by whose wicked means, the kingdom of *Valentia* was, at last, cleared of all the *Moriscoes*.

Q. When was the ban, for banishing all the *Moriscoes* from the kingdoms of *Grenada*, *Murcia*, and *Sevil*, promulgated?

A. The 22d of *January* 1610, by marquis *De St. German*, in which were the subsequent particulars.—As princes are obliged in conscience to extirpate, from their dominions, all things scandalous and prejudicial to good subjects, dangerous to the state, or offensive to God: so experience shews, that many mischiefs have arisen to the kingdoms of *Grenada*, *Murcia*, and *Sevil*, occasioned by the *Moriscoes* residing in them. For they, besides their being descended from those who rebelled in the kingdom of *Grenada*; and who began their rebellion, by murdering all the priests and old Christians they could lay their hands upon; and by inviting the *Turks* to come and assist them; and who, in order that they might be made to repent of their wickedness, and live peaceably and honourably, after the manner of the Christians, were removed out of that kingdom, (having had such things prescribed, with regard to them, as were sufficient to produce that happy effect;) have refused to obey our orders, or to embrace our holy faith; but, to the great dishonour of God, have continued to detest it; as is plain from the vast number of *Moriscoes* who have been punished by the inquisition: and who, besides, having committed divers robberies and murders, on the persons of old Christians, have sent deputies to the *Turk*, imploring his assistance; having also solicited other princes to send them succours; offering them their persons
and

and estates; in case they would aid them; which treasonable councils, having never been divulged by any of them; but, on the contrary, concealed and denied by them all; is an evident proof of their being alike minded and affected, as to the obedience they owe to God and to us. All which having been duly considered, together with the strict obligations we are under, to procure the preservation and good of our subjects; and being desirous to comply with that duty: we, by the advice of divers learned, pious, and prudent persons, who are very zealous [what a strange mockery is all this!] for God's service and ours, have determined to banish from the kingdoms of *Grenada*, *Murcia* and *Sevil*; and out of the town of *Hornacres*, all the new Christian *Moriscoes*, men, women, and children, inhabiting them: it being expedient, when any heinous or detestable crimes are committed, by particular persons of a community, to dissolve it; and to extirpate all those, of what condition soever, who may endeavour to subvert the order of good government; thereby to prevent the spreading of the infection. We therefore, by these presents, do ordain and command all new Christians, without exception, living or residing within the kingdoms of *Grenada*, *Murcia*, *Sevil*, and the town of *Hornacres*, of all ages, and of either sex, as well natives as foreigners,—(slaves only excepted)—to depart within thirty days,—with their sons and daughters, their men and maid-servants, and with their whole family of the *Morisco* race;—and not to return upon pain of death and confiscation of their estates.—And we do further forbid all persons, of what quality, or rank soever, to receive or harbour them.—And though we might have confiscated all their estates; nevertheless, being willing to treat them with clemency, we do permit them, within the space of thirty days, to sell their moveable goods; and to carry away the value thereof with them, but not in specie, in gold, or silver; nor in jewels, nor in bills of exchange; but in unprohibited commodities of the growth of these kingdoms, and purchased from the natives of them.—Reserving to ourselves all their immoveable goods, to be laid out for the service of God, and for the good of the publick, as shall be judged most

convenient.—We do farther declare, that we do take their persons, and all their goods, under our protection and royal public faith.—The *Moriscoes* may carry so much money with them, as is necessary for defraying the expence of their journey by land or by sea:—we command all our ministers of justice of these kingdoms, and all the captains of our gallies and galleons, to cause all the aforesaid orders to be duly observed and executed: which must be published by the mouth of a cryer, that none may pretend ignorance. Given at *Madrid*, the ninth of *December* 1609.

Q. How was this ban put in execution?

A. Though the *Moriscoes* were thereby commanded, to take all their children with them; yet marquis *De St. German* had a secret order, from the king, to stop the children, both male and female, under seven years old, of all such *Moriscoes* as might hire ships to carry themselves and their families to *Barbary*, or to any country not subject to the pope. But the *Moriscoes* having got intelligence of this order, all of them, who had children under that age, hired ships, and pretended to take their passage for *France* or *Italy*, to which countries, however, most of them never went; having made a new bargain, when at sea, with the masters of those ships, to land them in *Barbary*. And such as went to *Italy* with their families, made no stay there; but crossed over to *Barbary* the first opportunity. The king's permitting these *Moriscoes* to sell all their moveable goods; and to carry the value of those goods with them, in the fruits and manufactures of *Spain* bought of the natives; though it might seem a favour, was yet of very little benefit to them; for, by being so restrained, the natives bought the *Morisco* goods very cheap, and sold their own very dear.

Q. How did the deputies of the kingdom of *Arragon* behave on this occasion?

A. They acted with as much vigour as the barons of *Valentia* had done: they sending two of their ablest men to court, for them to lay before the king, with zeal and freedom, the great and innumerable damages, both public and private, which *Arragon* must necessarily sustain, should all

all the *Moriscoes* be driven out of it — The deputies did their duty, and executed their commission to the best of their power, but all to no purpose.

Q. What other bans were issued?

A. One on the 29th of May, 1610, by marquis *De Aytona*, viceroy of *Arragon*, for banishing all the *Moriscoes* out of that kingdom, whereby 16,000 families were drove from it. And, on the same day, the ban for expelling all the *Moriscoes* from the principality of *Catalonia*, was promulgated, by the governor thereof, Don *Hector Pignatello*, Duke *De Montaleon*. By a letter, dated January 2, 1610, the king permitted all the *Moriscoes* in *Old and New Castile*, *Estremadura*, and *Mancha*, to sell all their moveable goods, and retire to *France*. However, not one *Morisco* family made use of this permission; the *Moriscoes* knowing very well, that had they attempted this, they would have been stopt; this licence having been granted in no other view, than to discover how the *Castilian Moriscoes* might stand affected with regard to the *French*: with whom the court of *Spain*, in order to justify the expulsion, would have pretended that they held a correspondence.

Q. When was the last ban published?

A. The 11th of July, 1610, at *Aranda*; and this was a general one, because all the *Moriscoes* had not yet left *Spain*, when commanded. The purport of this ban was very near the same with that of the others, except in the following particular, viz Their being allowed to export gold, silver, and jewels, under certain restrictions. — The *Spanish* historians are not agreed, with regard to the number of *Moriscoes* expelled *Spain* at this time. Some say they were 1,000,000; others 900,000; but most authors compute them at 600,000 men, women, and children; exclusive of those who were killed, or kept forcibly in *Spain*.

Q. Were not these expulsions of infinite prejudice to *Spain*?

A. As this kingdom was far from being over-peopled before, (which, indeed, no country can well be;) and as few therein (the *Moriscoes* excepted) were industrious, or skilled in most of the profitable manufactures of *Spain*;

this expulsion proved such a fatal blow to that kingdom, as it has not been able to recover, to this day, and probably never will. It is apparent, that *Spain* has not above one fourth of the inhabitants it should naturally possess: nor is it likely that it will ever be more populous, so long as it shall harbour such prodigious swarms of priests, monks, nuns, &c. and be so greatly, and so perpetually drained by the *Indies*, *Flanders*, and *Italy*. It is also equally visible, that it's people, (by their pride and superstition, more than from the climate,) are so very lazy, that it will be impossible for this country ever to be rich, should it be the sole mistress of all the wealth of the *West-Indies*: for the vast treasures which are dug up, by the *Spanish* subjects, in those countries, and brought into *Europe* by them only, will never remain in *Spain*; so long as those *Indies* shall continue to be supplied with goods, not manufactured in *Spain*, but in countries subject to other princes.

Q. Did not the unhappy effects of these depopulations appear not very long after?

A. This is evident from a memorial, presented in 1618, to *Philip III*, by a junta whom that monarch had assembled, to deliberate on the ruinous state of his kingdoms. The memorial opens with the following complaint. “ The want of people, in *Spain*, is now much more evident than was ever known in the reigns of any of your majesty's predecessors: it being so great at this time, that if God does not provide such a remedy for us, as we may naturally expect from your majesty's piety and wisdom, your kingdom will be totally destroyed: nothing being more visible, than that this country is falling to the ground, [*Esta a pique de dar in terra*;] it's houses being every where in a ruinous condition, without people to rebuild them; and it's towns and villages appearing like so many desarts.”

Q. What remarkable incidents happened about this time?

A. The same year in which this memorial was delivered, Duke *De Lerma*, the chief author of those expulsions, was sent away from court, and discharged from all his employ-

ployments. His principal confident and counsellor, Don *Rodrigo Calderon*, being then committed to prison, was, after two years and a half confinement, executed publickly in the great square at *Madrid*; the head of the duke, (his patron,) having been secured, by the pope's raising him to the purple, after the duke had begun to find himself in danger, which was not many weeks before his fall. The cardinal archbishop of *Toledo*, a zealous promoter of the expulsions died, through grief and discontent, a few days after the duke had been sent from court. There likewise was *Báltasar de Sandoval*, dean of *Toledo*, a brother or near kinsman of the duke, who, after the expulsions, was made a cardinal by pope *Paul V*; so that there were three cardinals, living at the same time, of the *Lerma* family; which is more than any house, not excepting even that of the pope's, can boast: of such important service was the expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, judged to be, by the court of *Rome*. King *Philip* did not long survive this sad catastrophe. A *Spanish* historian relates, that when death approached this prince, he was seized with such dismal scruples, with regard to his past government, that all his joints trembled, and his face appeared ghastly. And that, after lamenting the great difficulty of his making reparation; he thus replied to some, who exhorted him to *trust in God's mercy*:—*I do trust: but I afterwards am struck with dread; for though God is merciful, he also is just.*—In the next reign, many of the chief instruments of the expulsion, were either put to death, or came to a miserable end; which, however, I would not call a judgment, the ways of heaven being inscrutable; and nothing being more presumptuous, than for mortals to dare to pronounce on such momentous occasions.

Q. Did not the archbishop of *Valentia* exult at these expulsions?

A. He preached a sermon, on the following text (as was observed) *I wish they were cut off that trouble you*, Gal. v. 13, in the cathedral of *Valentia*, on Sunday after the publication of the ban. Here follow some extracts from that very remarkable discourse. In the exordium the preacher did not blush to declaim thus:—“In ascending the pulpit, I comply with what the spirit of God hath taught; directing us

“ to apply our doctrine to the occurrences of the times; in
 “ imitation of skilful physicians, who attack that distemper
 “ which is most dangerous.”—He then proceeds to shew
 the justice of extirpating the *Moriscoes*, from the example
 of *St. Paul*, who was urgent for cutting off the infidels, to
 prevent their misleading his converts.—Thus is scripture
 tortured, to give a sanction to the most barbarous actions.—
 To inflame the *Spaniards*, he says: “ Zeal is the effect of
 “ loving God; so that where there is no great love for
 “ God, there is little zeal for his honour; and by how
 “ much stronger such love is, so much the greater will be
 “ the zeal:” [i. e. for persecuting the *Moriscoes*.] “ The
 “ divine apostle discovered his holy zeal, in saying, O that
 “ I might see those that trouble your peace expelled from among
 “ you! A wish worthy of an apostle, and minister of God,
 “ and most acceptable to our Lord:” [blasphemy! as
 though God delighted in cruelty.]—The archbishop then
 instances our Saviour’s driving the money-changers, &c. by
 force out of the temple, that prelate saying, “ This very
 “ mild Lamb, [*Jesus*] whose patience, under injuries, was so
 “ greatly admired; yet when occasion offered, for apply-
 “ ing a remedy to things offensive to God, turned fierce;
 “ and forgetting, as we may say, his softness; changed
 “ the mildness of the sheep, into the fierceness of the
 “ lion.”—He then instances *David*. “ Neither did this
 “ king (says he) in his life-time, only, revenge the in-
 “ juries which were done to God, but at his death charged
 “ his son *Solomon* to revenge them; so that in *David* we
 “ see, a king who is mild and rigid, merciful and severe,
 “ a pardoner and a revenger; and who was both patient
 “ and full of zeal.”—The archbishop continued his dis-
 course with bestowing the most fulsome eulogiums, on the
 king, for driving the *Moriscoes* out of *Spain*, he praising
 him above all his predecessors on that account: and, at
 the same time, most impiously applauding him for his hu-
 manity.—He farther inflamed the minds of his hearers, by
 assuring them, that these *Moriscoes* had offered the grand
 signior to rise, to the number of 150,000, in case he
 would invade *Spain*, in order to make himself master of
 it.—The religious principles set forth in the sermon in
 question,

question, were worthy, not of a Christian archbishop, but of a most cruel, unenlightened barbarian; he saying, (among other shocking particulars,) “ I do firmly believe, that this
“ mighty enterprize was reserved, by heaven, purposely
“ to give undeniable testimony, of the paternal aid,
“ which it ever bestows on all the actions of our sovereign
“ lord the king.”

Q. How did the archbishop proceed in his shocking, hypocritical enthusiasm?

A. “ When this expulsion is ended, I intend, if God
“ spares my life, to visit all the places lately inhabited
“ by the *Moriscoes*; and having kissed the ground of the
“ churches, will return thanks to God, for seeing them
“ freed from such great impurity, as those churches were
“ defiled with, by the *Moriscoes* treading on them.” He
then goes on thus with the farce. “ The reason why God
“ ordained, that so holy an expulsion should begin in this
“ kingdom, was, that he might reward the devotion that
“ prevails therein, for the most blessed sacrament; which
“ is greater than in any other part of *Spain*; as is evident
“ from the festivals, the processions, the illuminations, and
“ ceremonies.” He then instances the zeal of *Matthias*,
who, in presence of king *Antiochus*, slew two men who
were offering sacrifice to idols; as also the zeal of *Phineas*.
He next declares, that it would be incumbent on the people
to make a general confession, for having so long connived
at the blasphemy of the *Moriscoes*. To console the barons
for the loss which would accrue to their estates, by the
banishment of so many *Moriscoes*, he has recourse to the
fallacious arguments following:—“ Whosoever will
“ but truly consider the imminent danger to which we were
“ exposed, of losing both our lives and estates, while the
“ *Moriscoes* lived among us, will say he now is happy; and
“ think himself in a better condition, by having what re-
“ mains secured to him.” He afterwards carries on his
hypocrisy so far, as to assure them, that now the *Moriscoes*
were banished, *Spain* would be more fruitful; he declaring,
that “ the land had been impoverished, and made
“ barren; and was poisoned, by the blasphemies and
“ heresies of the *Moriscoes*.—Let us but live in the service

“ of our Lord, and observe his holy law without wrong-
 “ ing our neighbour, and we shall abound with all good
 “ things. *The reapers (saith the prophet) shall work until*
 “ *seed time, and the makers of wine shall meet the sowers;*
 “ *and ye shall build in places which were desarts; plant*
 “ *vines, and drink of the wine thereof; sow gardens, and*
 “ *eat of the fruit of the trees you have planted; and ye shall*
 “ *never be turned out of your houses, saith the Lord.*” The
 prelate concludes his extraordinary sermon, with this de-
 claration: “ Now having seen my desires fulfilled, I am
 “ contented to die, whenever our Lord shall think fit to
 “ take me.”—With how horrid a spirit must this arch-
 bishop have been actuated; he being, at the time of
 preaching this sermon, some years above fourscore! A
 mind capable of such settled wrath and cruelty, as is found
 in inquisitors, and those who resemble them, can have
 naught celestial in it; and nothing but popery could have
 breathed, into man, a spirit so inhuman, so unrelenting,
 and so merciless, as was that with which this archbishop
 had, for many years, persecuted the *Moriscoes*; and with
 which he triumphed over them in the above strange sermon;
 at a juncture when they, and their families, were groaning
 under unspeakable miseries. The reflexion on this spirit
 made a *Jew*, who had been persecuted, by the inquisitors,
 cry out;—*That though they had the appearance of men, they*
were not truly such, but fiends, sent from the infernal regions,
to assume the human form, and every thing appertaining to it,
except the bowels.*

Q. Have there been *Englishmen* who wished to see the
 inquisition established among us?

A. We do read of ONE, and may he be the last!—When
 the celebrated *William Penn* and *William Mead*, (quakers)
 were committed to *Newgate* under *Charles II.* in 1670; and
 tried for holding meetings, contrary to the *Conventicle Act*;
 forbidding the assemblies of dissenters, under very severe
 penalties: *SIR JOHN HOVEL*, recorder of *London*,

* Most of the above particulars, relating to the expulsion of the
Jews and *Moriscoes* out of *Spain*, are extracted from *Dr. Geddes's*
Miscellaneous Tracts, Vol. i. p. 1, & seq. *London*, 1709, 8vo.

spoke thus upon the trial.—"Till now, I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards, in suffering the inquisition among them. And certainly it will never be well with us, till something like unto the SPANISH INQUISITION be in England *." Abominable words, for which the memory of the author of them ought to be had in detestation! What! introduce, into *England*, a tribunal the most cruel, the most bloody, that ever was contrived! It is therefore with just reason, that the author of the preface to this trial, published under the following title, viz. *The People's ancient and just Liberties, asserted, in the Trial of William Penn and William Mead, at the Sessions held at the Old Bailey, in London, the first, third, fourth, and fifth Day of September, 1670, against the most arbitrary Procedure of that Court*, has these words, viz. "If ever it were time to speak or write, it is now, so many strange occurrences requiring both. How much thou art concerned in this ensuing trial, where not only the prisoners, but the fundamental laws of *England* have been most arbitrarily arraigned, read; and thou mayst plainly judge. Liberty of conscience is counted a pretence for rebellion: and religious assemblies, routs and riots; and the defenders of both are, by them, reputed factious and disaffected. *Magna Charta* is *Magna F*—— with the recorder of *London*; and to demand right, an affront to the court. Will and power are their *Great Charter*: but to call for that of *England*, is a crime incurring the penalty of their bale-dock, and nasty hole: nay, the menace of a gag, and iron shackles too.—The jury, though proper judges of law and fact, they would have over-ruled in both, as if their verdict signified no more, than to echo back the illegal charge of the bench. And because their courage and honesty did more than hold pace, with the threat and abuse of those who sat as judges; after two days and two nights restraint for a verdict, in the end were fined and imprisoned for giving

* General Dictionary, historical and critical, Vol. viii. p. 261, under the article (PENN WILLIAM.)

" it.

“ it *.”—How shocking must such a trial appear, to every man of sense, justice, and humanity! Yet was it a proper prelude to the tyrannical proceedings which were to follow in the succeeding reign, that of *James II.*: proceedings which, had they not been stopt, would very probably have been of still infinitely worse consequence to this nation: and restored the days of the bloody queen *Mary*. Are we not then eternally indebted to those who brought about the revolution, which has secured, to us, that invaluable blessing, liberty? I am very sorry to observe, on occasion of the trial of the two quakers above mentioned, that the church of *England* is said to have espoused tyranny at that time. But justice and impartiality require this; and it is from such a spirit, that I cannot but look upon the Conventicle Act, as a milder inquisition. “ This act,” (as a famous quaker, who suffered by it observes *) “ was directly contrary to the fundamental laws of *England*; to common justice, equity, and right reason.—It breaking down the bounds antiently set for the defence and security of the lives, liberties, and properties of *Englishmen*, viz. TRYAL BY JURIES: and instead thereof, directing and authorizing justices of the peace (and that too privately, and out of sessions,) to convict, fine; and, by their warrants, distrain upon offenders against it; directly contrary to MAGNA CHARTA.—By this act, the informers, (who swore for their own advantage.) were many times concealed: by which many men were convicted and fined, without having any knowledge of this, till the officers took away their goods. By this act the innocent were punished for the offences of the guilty.—“ It was left to the arbitrary pleasure of the justices, to lay half the fine for the house or ground where a meeting or assembly was holden; and

* General Dictionary, historical and critical, Vol. viii. p. 261, under the article (PENN, WILLIAM.)

† *Thomas Elwood*. See The History of his Life, &c. p. 283, &c. London, 1714 8vo. This *Thomas Elwood* was a most intimate friend of our celebrated *Milton*; and gave him the hint for writing his *Paradise regained*. See *Elwood's Life*, p. 246.

“ half the fine for a pretended unknown preacher.—This
 “ unlawful, unjust, unequal, unreasonable, and unrighteous
 “ law took place, in (almost) all places; and was vigorously
 “ prosecuted against the meetings of dissenters in general;
 “ though the brunt of the storm fell most sharply on the peo-
 “ ple called quakers*.—These prosecutions were, in many
 “ parts, carried on with great severity and rigour: the worst
 “ of men, for the most part, being set up as INFORMERS;
 “ the worst of *magistrates* encouraging and abetting
 “ them; and the worst of *priests* who first began to blow
 “ the fire, now seeing how it took, spread and blazed;
 “ clapt their hands, and halloo’d them on to this evil
 “ work †. And afterwards:—The magistrates, not
 “ thinking the laws against us [the quakers] severe
 “ enough; perverted the law, by making our peacea-
 “ ble meetings, Riots; and indicting our friends as
 “ RIOTERS, that they might fine at pleasure ‡.” The
 above quotations are from quakers, and so may be
 thought to favour of partiality. But it appears, from
 other writers of veracity under *Charles II*, that too
 great severities were sometimes exercised against the dis-
 senters, and particularly the quakers; and informers too
 much encouraged. A noble historian, one of whose
 works is just now published, speaking of the times in
 question, says. “ Informing was grown a trade, which
 “ many affected to get money by: and as the king’s
 “ ministers could not reject in a time of so much jea-
 “ lousy; so the receiving them gave them great trouble:
 “ for few of them were willing to be produced as evi-
 “ dence against those they accused, pretending, some-
 “ times with reason, that if they were known, they
 “ should be rendered useless for the future; whereas, they
 “ were yet unsuspected, and admitted into all councils ||.
 This great historian, at the same time that he seems to
 apologize for these informers, was sensible that they gave
 rise to many evils. Hence the word, informer, is, justly

* See *Thomas Elwood’s Life*, p. 284. † *Idem*, p. 298.

‡ See the supplement to the History of the life of *Thomas Elwood*,
 p. 354. || *The Continuation of the Life of Edward Earl of Claren-*
don, written by himself, Vol. ii, p. 366. Oxford, 1759, 8vo.

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become odious ; though it may, on certain occasions, form part of an excellent character ; as when a man discovers any design or plot carrying on, to the destruction of his country. Not to inform, at such junctures, would be treason against it. But it is plain that the informers here hinted at, were wretches who, merely for the sake of vile lucre, did not scruple to take false oaths, by which many unjustly suffered heavy fines, banishment and even death.—I cannot enough congratulate my countrymen, on the extinction of all horrid practices of this sort, since the accession of the present illustrious family to the throne of these realms :—and may they ever possess it, so long as they shall preserve to us our invaluable rights !



CRUELITIES



CRUELITIES OF THE SPANIARDS, IN AMERICA.

2  ID not the *Spaniards* exercise great cruelties in *America*?
A. Yes; as is assured by many Romish writers; and among others, by *Bartolomeo de las Casas*, bishop of *Chiapa* *, whose picture is thus drawn, by a Jesuit †. “ The celebrated *Bartolomeo de las Casas* was a virtuous ecclesiastic, whom a desire of converting infidels, had invited into *America*. He possessed most of the talents which form the truly apostolic man; a strong zeal, an ardent charity, a perfect disinterestedness, an irreproachable purity of manners; and a robust constitution, which enabled him to undergo

* A province and town in *Mexico*, or *New Spain*. The chief city is also called *Ciudad Reale*.
† *Lettres edifiantes & curieuses, écrites des Missions étrangères, &c.* p. 425, Tom. xx. Paris, 1731, 12mo.

the greatest fatigues. His enemies could reproach him with nothing but a too great vivacity of temper; but then his virtue, his understanding; and the singular talent by which he won the confidence of the *Americans*, made him a very respectable character." Thus writes a *French* Jesuit, concerning *Bartolomeo de las Casas*; whence the greater credit may be given, to the account this bishop has left us, with regard to the almost unparalleled barbarities exercised by the *Spaniards*, on the *Americans*.

Q. What was the behaviour of the *Spaniards*, who first arrived in *America*?

A. The celebrated *Christopher* * *Columbus*, who discovered that vast continent in 1492, landed first in *St. Domingo*, or *Hispaniola*. Every part of this large island, (which is 150 leagues long, 50 or 60 broad, and 360 leagues in circumference,) seemed to him exceedingly populous. The *Spanish* historians relate, that it then contained a million † of inhabitants: that there were five or six caciques or princes; each of whom brought an hundred thousand men into the field against the *Spaniards*. But all those *Hispaniolans* have been destroyed by their conquerors; a very few excepted, who preserved themselves, in an almost miraculous manner, from the knowledge of the *Europeans*.

Q. Relate the cruelties exercised afterwards by the *Spaniards*?

A. Some say, that, when *Christopher Columbus* set out upon his discovery, under *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, king and queen of *Spain*, he was exhorted to behave with all possible humanity, towards all such nations as he might arrive among; and that he complied exactly with those instructions; but was ill seconded by his companions. Most of these were men who, being voluntary exiles from their native country, hoped thereby to escape the punishment justly due to their crimes; and who, at the hazard of dying an honourable death, thirsted after the immense riches of the new world. *Columbus* landed in a harbour which he afterwards called *Port-Royal*; the district

* *Lettres edifiantes & curieuses*, ubi supra, page 396, & seq.

† Some say three millions.

it belonged to being governed by a powerful *Cacique* called *Guacanaric*. There was nothing barbarous in the air and manner of this prince; and his subjects, though very much astonished, at first, at the arrival of the *Spaniards*, soon contracted a great familiarity with, and treated them with the utmost kindness.

Q. What ensued upon this?

A. The *Spaniards* soon proved to them, that gold was the chief object of their search. The *Hispaniolans* took a pleasure in despoiling themselves of their rich necklaces, and other trinkets; for the sake of presenting them to their new guests; and preferred a little brass bell, or glass bangle, to the wealth drawn by them from their mines. Entertaining the highest idea of these strangers, whom they looked upon as descended from heaven, they strove to imitate all their actions: so that a cross being set up in the center of their settlement, they, copying their guests, fell prostrate on the earth before it; smote their breasts; and lifted up their eyes and hands to heaven.

Q. Was this good correspondence with the natives lasting?

A. Columbus's ship having foundered in a storm, he himself, and his crew, were at the mercy of the *Hispaniolans*. But the good king administered all the consolation to them possible; he immediately sending out a great number of canoes, to succour the ship; and, lest his subjects should be tempted to plunder it, the *cacique* himself attended, in order to awe his people by his presence. *Guacanaric* obliged them to save all the goods they could; and these he laid up very carefully in storehouses built by the sea-side. The king was so moved at Columbus's distress, that he could not refrain from tears; and, to compensate for his loss, offered him his whole possessions, and intreated him to settle in his country.

Q. Did Columbus comply with the *cacique's* kind invitation?

A. The *Spaniard*, being still master of a *Caravel*, (a sort of galley;) and thinking it incumbent on him to return to *Spain*, in order to give a relation of his discovery, thanked the *cacique*; said, he must go; but that he would leave part of his countrymen with him. Immediately the

cacique

cacique built a commodious and safe habitation for his new guests; and, with the wreck of the ship, raised them a kind of fort, and sunk a ditch round it. It was likewise defended by a company, consisting of forty men, commanded by *Diego Daranna*; with whom was left a gunner, a few field pieces, a carpenter, a surgeon, with ammunition for a twelve month. However, the *Spaniards*, so soon as their chief was departed, changed their behaviour. Feuds created disorder, and this grew up to licentiousness. The *Spaniards* being equally dissolute and avaricious, flew like rapacious wolves, up and down the neighbouring country; rushing furiously upon the gold and the wives of the *Hispaniolans*; and proceeding to such horrid acts of barbarity, that those who, till then, had been their most sincere friends, now became their most irreconcilable enemies.

Q. Did not king *Guacanaric* remonstrate to the *Spaniards* on this occasion?

A. He set before them, in the strongest light, but all to no purpose, the sad consequences which would certainly attend on their cruel practices; for now the *Spaniards*, advancing out of their fort, attacked the neighbouring nations; leaving, whithersoever they came, bloody footsteps of their progress. However, such a series of complicated crimes did not long continue unpunished; for now the natives, being determined to oppose their stratagems, *Caunabo*, one of their caciques, came unawares upon these despoilers, as they were attempting to carry off the wives of the *Hispaniolans*, and cut them to pieces; and thereby plainly perceived, that these strangers, at whose bare sight they before trembled, were far from being so formidable as they had imagined them. *Caunabo*, at the head of as many of his subjects as he could draw together, came to the *Spanish* fort, which was resolutely defended by only five men. The faithful *Guacanaric* flew, but too late, to the succour of his *Spanish* friends; for *Caunabo's* army, being greatly superior in number, defeated that of *Guacanaric*, who, being wounded, was forced to leave his new allies to their ill fate. But what stand could five *Spaniards* possibly make, against a numberless multitude of *Hispaniolans*? However, the former defended themselves with so much
bravery,

bravery, that the *Indians* did not dare to approach them in the day-time; but stealing into the ditches in the night, they set fire to, and consumed the fort.

Q. Did *Columbus* return to *America*?

A. Yes, not long after, and with a considerable fleet. He now had so strong a force, that the *Spaniards* might, if they had pleased, have adjusted matters happily; but as this new fleet consisted of the most abandoned wretches, the dregs of the *Spanish* prisons; and as those who acted under *Columbus* were directed wholly by mercenary motives; a bloody war was lighted up, during three years, in all quarters. The *Spaniards*, exasperated at the resistance they met with from the natives, spared none, and committed the most unheard of cruelties. Six kings, whose dominions were very populous, united against them, but in vain. The *Hispaniolans* would have defended their liberty with greater success, had the fate of war depended on numbers; but the swords and fire-arms, of the *Spaniards*, encountering with only naked, unarmed men, made so dreadful a slaughter of the *Hispaniolans*, that more than half of them perished in this war: and being obliged to submit, were quiet for some time; a circumstance to which *Guacanaric* had greatly contributed. For this cacique, still a friend to the *Spaniards*, had accompanied them in their expeditions; so that, by his mediation, matters were happily composed.

Q. What did the natives afterwards?

A. Fired by new hostilities, which the *Spaniards* committed, the *Hispaniolans* resolved to plant no more *maiz**, nor *manioc*†; but to abandon their several settlements, and fly to the woods and mountains. Here they hoped to meet with wild beasts, and fruits sufficient to support themselves; and as the lands they should quit must lie uncultivated, they imagined that their tyrants would be forced to abandon *Hispaniola*. But the *Spaniards* being subsisted by the provisions sent them from *Europe*, pursued the natives to places which these latter had judged inaccessible; and being thus harassed, from mountain to mountain;

* *Indian corn*. † An *American* plant, with which bread is made.

more perished by fatigue, want, and terror, than by the sword. Those who escaped these calamities, were at last forced to submit to the conquerors, who treated them with all imaginable rigour. It is, indeed, said, that *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* had sent strict orders to use the *Hispaniolans* kindly; and to instruct them in the Christian faith, but that this command had been slighted; some persons even proposing, in *Ferdinand's* council, to enslave the natives entirely; and to divide them among the *Spaniards*, who should employ them to work in the mines, or otherwise, as they might see proper*. Religion and politicks were made the ground-work of this project; the promoters of it insinuating, that the natives would never be prevailed upon to embrace the Christian religion, so long as they should be permitted to exercise their superstitions, and escape a salutary violence. At the same time it was urged, that this would be of the highest advantage, in a political view; as the natives, by being thus shackled, would be no longer able to rebel †.

Q. Did not this prove the entire ruin of the *Hispaniolans*?

A. Yes. The Jesuits declare, that the missionaries opposed these cruelties; but that the *Spaniards*, who were interested in enslaving the natives, did all that lay in their power to traverse the pious designs of the missionaries. It is related, that this cause being pleaded at the court of *Spain*, it was resolved, that the *Hispaniolans* should be made slaves to their conquerors, and divided among them; (they being then reduced to 60,000,) which was done accordingly. And now their masters, ruling them with a rod of iron, employed them as beasts of burthen; so that, five years after, anguish and fatigue had reduced them to 14,000. This sad circumstance excited the compassion of the virtuous *Bartholomeo de las Casas*; who, being an eye-witness to the cruelties under which the natives groaned, resolved, if possible, to give them ease. For this purpose he returned to the court of *Spain*, and there made a true report of matters; but not without being strongly opposed,

* It is a French Jesuit writes thus, & curieuses, Tom. xx. p. 420, 421.

† See *Lettres edifiantes*

by those mercenary wretches who had enslaved the *Hispaniolans*. *De las Casas* was vigorously thwarted in his excellent endeavours; but being strong and indefatigable, he went to and fro, between *Europe* and *America*; firmly determined, not to give over his pursuit but with his life.

Q. What was the last step taken by this truly apostolical man?

A. Finding himself perpetually baffled by the council of the *Indies*, he resolved to address himself directly to prince *Charles*, who governed in the name of the queen his mother, at that time sick. There now was a faction between the *Spanish* and *Flemish* ministers; each of them endeavouring to gain an ascendant over the mind of that prince, who was afterwards the renowned emperor *Charles V.* *Bartholomeo de las Casas*, after meeting with innumerable repulses, as is usual in courts, prevailed, at last, so far, over the venality of his violent opposers; that prince *Charles* resolved to hear, solemnly, the cause for enslaving the *Americans*, and for dividing them among their haughty conquerors; as was now done in every part of the *Spanish West Indies*. By this time the wicked party, who were for shackling the *Hispaniolans*, had sent, from *America*, for the bishop of *Darien**, a prelate the counterpart of *Bartholomeo de las Casas*, now raised to the bishoprick of *Chiapa*; and who himself was greatly interested in this slavish distribution of the *Americans* among the *Spaniards*. The bishop of *Darien* had recourse to all the artifices employed by treacherous courtiers, to defeat the great and pious intentions of him of *Chiapa*; who nevertheless prevailed so far, that a day was appointed for both parties to appear before the prince, and his whole court; when the assembly being met, and prince *Charles* seated on the throne, the bishop of *Darien* was ordered to speak first.

Q. Did he deliver himself in a manner becoming his function?

A. This the reader will presently judge, his harangue being to the following purport. "It is very extraordinary

* Or *Terra Firma* proper, in *America*.

" that

that a point should still be argued, which has been so frequently decided in the councils of the catholic kings, your august ancestors. Doubtless, the sole reason why the *Americans* have been, at last, treated with so much severity, is, from a mature reflexion on their disposition and manners. Need I set before you the treacheries and rebellions of the worthless *Hispaniolans*? Was there a possibility of ever reducing them, except by violent methods? Have they not set every engine at work, to destroy their masters, in hopes thereby to free themselves from their new government? If we allow freedom to these barbarians, it will be giving up the conquest of *America*, and all the advantages to be expected from it.—But wherefore should any one find fault, with their being made slaves. Do not those who conquer barbarous nations, reduce them to a state of captivity? And is not this the privilege of the victors? Did not the *Greeks* and *Romans* treat thus the rude people whom they subdued by force of arms? If ever any nation merited harsh treatment, it must be these *Americans*, who resemble brutes more than rational creatures. How shocking are their crimes, at which nature herself blushes? Do we discover the least traces of reason in them? do they follow any other laws than those of their brutal passions?—But it will be objected, that their insensibility and savage disposition, prevent their embracing the Christian religion? But what do we lose by this? We want to make Christians of those who are scarce human creatures. Let our missionaries declare, what fruit they have reaped by their labours; and how many of these people are sincere profelytes.—But here it will be objected, that the *Hispaniolans* are souls for whom our blessed Saviour died on the cross.—I grant it; and God forbid that I should desire to have them abandoned!—Eternally be praised the zeal of our pious monarchs, for winning over these infidels to Christ! But then I affirm, that *the most effectual way*, for doing this, will be, by enslaving them; and I add, that this is the only method which can be employed. Being so ignorant, stupid and vicious, will it ever be possible to insil into their minds the necessary knowledge, except by keeping them in perpetual bondage? Equally desirous of renouncing the Christian religion, as of embracing it; they often, a moment after their baptism, return

return to their native superstitions."—Such was the fallacious discourse of this cruel, dissembling, and venal priest.

Q. What answer did *Bartholomeo de las Casas* make?

A. Such an one as was worthy his excellent character, and is as follows.—“ I was one of the first who went to *America*, when it was discovered under the reign of the invincible monarchs, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, your majesty's predecessors. Neither curiosity, nor interest, prompted me to undertake so long and dangerous a voyage; the saving of the souls of heathens being my sole object. Why was I not allowed to labour as assiduously as the ample harvest required? Why was I not permitted, even at the expence of my blood, to ransom so many thousand souls, who fell unhappy victims to avarice or lust?—Some would persuade us, that barbarous executions were necessary, in order to punish or check the rebellion of the *Americans*. But let us enquire to whom they are owing. Did not these nations receive the *Spaniards*, who first came among them, with gentleness and humanity? Did they not shew more joy, in proportion, in lavishing treasures upon them, than the *Spaniards* did greediness in receiving them? But our avarice was not yet satiated. Though they gave up to us their lands, their settlements, and their riches; we also would tear from them their wives, their children, and their liberty. Could we imagine them so insensible, as not to shew any resentment, though we hanged and burnt them?—To blacken these unhappy people, their enemies assert, that they are scarce human creatures. But it is we ought to blush, for having been less men, and more barbarous than they. What have they done? Only defended themselves when attacked; and repulsed injuries and violence by force of arms. Despair always furnishes those, who are drove to the last extremity, with weapons. But the Romans are instanced, to give a sanction to our enslaving these nations. The person who speaks thus is a Christian, and a bishop. Is this his gospel? What right have we to enslave people who are born free; and whom we disturbed, though they never offended us? If they must be our vassals, even let them be so; the law of the conqueror authorises, indeed, thus: but then, what have they done to deserve

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slavery?

slavery?—He adds, that they are stupid, brutal, and addicted to vices of every kind.—But is this to be wondered at? Can better things be expected from a nation deprived of the gospel light? Let us pity, but not oppress them; let us endeavour to instruct, enlighten and reform them; let us discipline, but not plunge them into despair.—All this time religion is used as a cloak to cover such crying acts of injustice. How! shall chains be the first fruits which these people reap from the gospel? But will it be possible for us to inspire them with a love for it's dictates; now they are so invenomed by hatred, and exasperated at their being dispossessed of that invaluable blessing, liberty? Did the apostles employ such methods in their conversion of the *Gentiles*? They themselves submitted to chains, but loaded no man with them. Christ came to free, not to enslave us: submission, to the faith he left us, ought to be a voluntary act; and should be propagated by persuasion, gentleness, and reason. Violence and force will make hypocrites only, but never true worshippers.—Permit me now to ask the bishop, whether the *Americans*, since their being enslaved, have discovered a stronger desire to become Christians? Whether their several masters have endeavoured to dispel their ignorance, by pouring instruction into their minds?—What advantage have either religion, or the state, reaped from this distribution of the slaves?—At my first arrival in *Hispaniola*, it contained a million of inhabitants; and there now remain scarce an hundredth part of them. *Thousands have perished by want, fatigue, merciless punishments, cruelty and barbarity. These men are murdered in sport. They are dragged into dreadful caverns, and there denied the light of the sun, and that of the gospel. If the blood, unjustly shed, of one man only calls loudly for vengeance, how strong must be the cry of that of so many unhappy creatures which is shedding daily?* The excellent *Las Casas* concluded his speech, with imploring the prince's clemency, for subjects so unjustly oppressed; and bravely declared, that heaven would one day call him to account, for the numberless acts of cruelty which he might have prevented. Prince *Charles* highly applauded the good bishop's zeal, and promised to second it; but little or nothing was afterwards done; so that all the *Hispaniolans*,

a few excepted, who had hid themselves in the almost inaccessible mountains, were destroyed.—So far *Lettres édifiantes & curieuses*, Tom. xx. It is remarkable, that all the particulars here given, relating to *Columbus* and *Hispaniola*, were writ by a Jesuit; who here frankly acknowledges, that the *Spaniards* made religion serve as a cloak, to cover their venal and ambitious designs.—The *Spaniards* lived, in *Hispaniola*, in great splendor, during many years, till they had drained it's gold mines, and worne out the natives in working them. The former afterwards abandoned this island, and retired to *Peru* and *Chili*, in hopes of there rolling in gold and silver; so that *Hispaniola* was afterwards inhabited by wild beasts only. The *Buccaneers* settled there next; after which colonies of *Spaniards* were sent to repeople it.

Q. Pray give a more particular account of the slavery of the *Americans*.

A. That of the natives of *Guatemala* may serve as an example of the rest. As the *Spaniards* are infinitely less numerous than the natives, (but one to a thousand,) in *America*, the former are afraid of their growing too mighty; and therefore the latter are not allowed the use of any arms, not even of their bows and arrows; as by these, it is thought, the *Spaniards* might easily be dispossessed of *America*. These natives, who formerly were very valiant, are now so much dispirited, through oppression, that they will shudder, not only at the sight of a gun, but even at the sour and grim look of a *Spaniard*. Some of these *Americans*, after coming home from hard working under the *Spaniards*; after many blows, some wounds, and little or no wages, have suddenly sunk down upon their beds, with a firm resolution to die, rather than lead such slavish lives; and, in order that they might starve themselves to death, would refuse all sustenance offered them by their wives, and perish in this manner. They frequently are divided, (by an officer appointed for that purpose,) among the *Spanish* farmers, under whom they work. They meet, weekly, in several towns appointed; carrying with them their shovels, spades, &c. and poor provisions for a week. They likewise take, on their backs, their beds, consisting only of a coarse woollen mantle; after which they are

shut up in the town-house ; and some of them are beat, if they don't enter it instantly. They afterwards are distributed among the several *Spanish* farmers. Any *American* who is caught, after running away, is brought to the whipping-post, in the market-place, and there scourged on his bare back ; but no complaint of an *American*, against a *Spaniard*, is heard. They are not permitted to go home at night to their wives, though their habitations may not lie at above a mile distance ; and how grievous soever their labour may be, they are not allowed a rial, or sixpence a day. The *Spaniards* treat these sons of bondage with the greatest inhumanity ; some visiting their wives at home, whilst their husbands are digging ; others whipping them for not working fast enough ; a third wounding them with their swords, or breaking their heads for giving a reasonable answer ; a fourth stealing their tools or implements, or defrauding them of half their wages. Some are employed in carrying heavy loads of wood on their backs, and are sometimes let out to work for other *Spaniards*. Others are let out to travellers, to take care of their mules, or carry heavy loads on their shoulders ; and these, when arrived at their journey's end, shall pick a quarrel with the poor wretches ; and send them home with blows and stripes, without a farthing. Some are made to carry burthens, of above an hundred weight, during one, two, or three days together ; and these burthens, holding by a broad piece of leather, which crosses their foreheads, frequently makes the blood start ; galls the skin ; and leaves a scar. With such loads they travel in all seasons, wet or dry ; hot or cold : and in all roads, low or mountainous ; clean, dirty, dusty, or stony ; and with only a few rags to cover themselves, and generally bare-footed. They often cry aloud to heaven for justice ; and would frequently mutiny, were they not restrained and cajoled by the priests *.

2. Give some extracts, from *Bartholomew de las Casas's* work, with regard to the cruelties exercised by the *Spaniards* in *America*.

* Gage's Survey of the *West-Indies*, p. 138, & seq.

A. They would seem incredible, was it not known that some men, for the sake of gold, will quite divest themselves of humanity. *Bartholomeo de las Casas's* narrative was first published in 1532, and afterwards in 1542. The *Spaniards* fell, (says he,) like so many ravenous wolves, on these harmless sheep, the *Hispaniolans*; they not only depopulated *Cuba*, *Hispaniola*, *Porto-Rico*, *Jamaica*, and the *Bahama* islands; but also caused the destruction of above twelve millions of souls upon the continent of *America*, in forty years. Some of these *Indians* were broiled on gridirons, over a slow fire; others roasted; and many torne to pieces by dogs. The above inhuman conquerors massacred whole towns, they sparing neither women nor children; ripping up women with child; dashing out the brains of infants, and drowning others. They even would lay wagers, who should first kill an *Indian*, either by striking off his head, or piercing his breast. The *Spaniards* marching towards a certain great *American* town, the inhabitants came out, and met them with refreshments; notwithstanding which, the plunderers fell upon these defenceless people without a cause; and put them all, men, women, and children, to the sword. Six thousand infants were destroyed, by their parents being dragged to the mines, &c. A *Spanish* officer having three hundred *Americans* allotted to him, he, in three months, killed two hundred and sixty of them, by excessive labour in the mines. A *Spanish* adventurer, in 1514, destroyed a tract of land of above five hundred miles in length; and an officer under him, in one excursion, murdered above two thousand people; some of them being burnt, and others torne to pieces by dogs. Whenever the *Spaniards* had notice, that any town abounded in gold, they would send an order for the inhabitants to turn Christians, and submit to *Spain*; and upon their refusal, they were plundered of their treasure, and butchered. Between the years 1514 and 1522, the governor of the province of *Terra Firma*, only, destroyed eight hundred thousand souls. A *Spanish* governor, to extort from an *Indian* prince where his treasure lay, caused his feet to be burnt, till the marrow dropped out of his bones, and he expired under the torture. In the province of *Nicaragua*, between the years 1523 and 1533, five hundred thousand *Americans* perished.

by their being transported to *Peru*, where they died in the mines, by hard working and want of food. They seldom lived long, when carried out of their native country. In *Mexico*, between the years 1518 and 1530, under *Cortez*, four millions of souls were put to death; besides numberless multitudes who were enslaved, and perished through want and oppression; *Mexico* being exceedingly populous.

Q. I desire some farther particulars of this horrid devastation.

A. In the city of *Cholula*, consisting of thirty thousand houses, *Cortez* summoning the principal inhabitants to attend him, to acknowledge themselves vassals of *Spain*; he butchered the lower sort of people, and burnt alive the persons of distinction. *Pedro de Alvarado*, one of his captains, destroyed all *Guatemala*, being four hundred miles long; and above two millions of souls perished in the province of *Honduras*. Some of the *Caciques* were burnt; and many of the inhabitants, with their houses, for refusing to discover whither their princes were fled. These *Americans*, being exasperated, dug pits in the highways; setting sharp stakes in them, which they covered with turf, to stop the *Spanish* horse; some of which falling into them, the blood thirsty conquerors commanded certain of the natives to be cast into those pits, and buried alive; the rest being extirpated by fire and sword, or sent to the mines. If ever the *Spaniards* saved the *American* women, it was merely to satiate their brutal lusts, or to make them drudges. A *Spanish* adventurer having employed eight thousand *Americans*, in his buildings and gardens, forced them to work without pay; and gave them so little food, that they sunk under their grievous burthens, and died; their brutal task-master not discovering the least concern on that occasion. Twenty thousand *Americans* being employed, to carry the baggage of the *Spaniards* in an expedition, they all, two hundred excepted, perished in it. A governor of *Jucutan*, in 1526, meeting with no gold nor silver in that province, laid waste the country; killed vast numbers of the people, and sold the rest for slaves; but set so trifling a value upon them, that the son of one of the *American* princes was bartered for a cheese.

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The son of an *American* lord, refusing to quit his native country, and go into slavery, his nose, ears and lips were cut off.

Q. What was the motive to these shocking barbarities?

A. The *Spaniards* pretended, "That the inhuman butchery formerly committed by the *Americans*, in sacrificing so many rational creatures to their wicked idols, was a sufficient warrant to justify those who should divest them of their country. But the same argument might, with much greater reason, be urged against the *Spaniards* themselves, who sacrificed so many millions of *Indians* to the idol of their barbarous cruelty, that many populous islands, and large territories upon the continent, are now quite uninhabited*." Farther: the pretence alledged by the *Spaniards*, was the conversion of the natives to Christianity: but the true cause was, the avarice of the conquerors; and their desire of usurping the empire of those countries; they soliciting perpetually, at the *Spanish* court, to have those divided among themselves: in hopes of thereby dispossessing, at last, even their own monarchs of that vast continent. The *Spaniards*, to justify their crimes, falsely represented the *Americans* as cannibals and sodomites: and, at the same time that they pretended to win them over to the Christian religion, the *Spaniards* disguised it so much, by superstitious rites; and so strangely perverted it's doctrines, that these, instead of reforming the minds of the *Americans*, only corrupted them. The *Spanish* captains, immediately on their arrival in an *American* nation, used to summon them to submit to the pope, and to the king of *Spain*; and upon their refusal to turn Christians, even before any instructions had been given them, they would seize upon their country; murder millions of the people, and enslave the rest; they often forcing them, by hundreds, and even by thousands, into rivers, in order for their being baptized; threatening to murder them, in case of refusal. A celebrated *English* traveller (before quoted †) informs us, that he having taken

* Gage, in his dedication to general *Fairfax*, page 158, 159.

† Gage,

some of the children of the rude natives of *Guatemala*; a friar, in his company, would baptize them, saying; "That he might do God good service, if he christened those children; that they might become saints; and that afterwards their prayers might prevail with God, for the conversion of their parents, and of all that country to Christianity.—I could not (says Gage) but oppose the friar's ignorance, which seemed much like that of the fathers, who entered *America* with *Cortez*; and increased, after the conquest, who boasted to the emperor, that some of them made above thirty thousand *Indians* Christians, by baptizing them; which truly they did, as sheep are forced to the waters, and driven to be washed; so were those first *Indians* by thousands sprinkled, (or if I may use their word, baptized) for they were driven by compulsion and force to the rivers; neither were they first principled in any grounds of belief and Christianity; neither themselves, believers, nor children of believing and faithful parents.—I represented this to the friar; but as he had been brought up in errors, whereof the church of *Rome* is a wide and spacious nest, so he would be obstinate in this point against me, and the truth; sprinkling with water those children, and naming them with names of Christians."—What a joke, what a farce is here made of religion!

2. Relate the behaviour of the Spaniards in *Porto-Rico*.

A. This island was discovered by *Columbus*, Anno 1493; but not subdued by the Spaniards, till 1510, under *John Pounce de Leon*, deputy-governor of *Hispaniola*. This man landing at *Boroquen*, in *Porto-Rico*, pretended the greatest friendship for the natives; and one of the *Caciques* gave the Spaniards the most hospitable reception; and led them to two rivers, in which were gold sands. *Pounce de Leon* building several forts there, usurped the sovereignty of the country. Being appointed governor thereof, he enslaved all the people; dividing them among his captains and followers, who employed them in digging for gold; (of which little was found;) and in the most laborious drudgery. Many of the natives fled to the woods and mountains; but not being able to resist the fire-arms, the horses and dogs

dogs of the *Spaniards*, most of them were obliged to submit; or, upon their refusal, were tore to pieces by dogs. The *Spaniards* hunted these innocent, naked, defenceless *Americans*, as if they had been so many wild beasts; and often tore to pieces, in mere sport, men, women, and children; turning them loose to dogs, as though they had been hares or foxes. The chief wretches, who perpetrated these barbarities, pretended, in order to colour their guilt, that all these *Americans* were cannibals, (as was hinted;) and, consequently were with justice made slaves. To this calumny is owing the report, which so long prevailed in *Europe*, viz. that many *American* nations were man-eaters.

Q. What is the true reason, why so many Romish missionaries, and others, are sent annually into *America*?

A. Merely for the sake of wealth, to aggrandize the papal power. The pope, upon the discovery of *America*, invested the kings of *Spain* with the sovereignty thereof, under the title of *The Royal Patrimony*; upon condition that the catholic kings should therein maintain a multitude of priests, friars and Jesuits, who, by propagating the erroneous doctrines of the church of *Rome*, should fascinate the eyes of the *Americans*; fleece them of their riches; and thereby advance the glory, the power and authority of the haughty Roman pontiffs; these, spite of their immense riches, not being able to maintain the many thousand preachers, who are dispersed up and down *America*, without the assistance of the *Spanish* monarchs. Now, among the several religious orders, the Jesuits were found best suited to this crafty purpose; they, besides the three vows, viz. poverty, chastity, and obedience, of other orders, making a fourth, viz. their being ever ready to go and preach, when and whithersoever, the pope should command them*. This zeal of theirs, for the papal see; and the protection and encouragement they meet with from it, naturally raised them many enemies among the other orders; it being remarked, that there is no less enmity and rancour, between the several Romish orders, than between parties among us in *England*. The view of these friars, is

* *Cage*, p. 1, & seq.

to aggrandize their several orders, thereby to enable the individuals of them to lead a life of luxury, and to build the most splendid convents. The yearly revenue of some of these, in *America*, is thirty thousand ducats, and the treasure worth one hundred thousand *. Multitudes of the secular priests live there with the splendor of men of considerable fortunes †. It is surprizing the money they get, from the wax-tapers, offered, by the ignorant natives, to saints ‡; as well as from the offerings on *Christmas-Day*, and that of *All-Souls*, &c. §. But experience teaches these ecclesiasticks, that the most effectual way to get money, is to persuade their blind votaries, in their expiring moments, that their souls will be released out of purgatory, provided they bequeath large sums to their convents. It is certain, that the ambition of being honoured in their gospel function, and the wealth of *America*, has drawn thither a multitude of missionaries; rather than a desire of converting barbarous and idolatrous nations ¶. The power of the Romish clergy is so great, that, in many towns of *America*, the priests reverse the sentence of the civil magistrate; whether relating to imprisonment, fines, whipping, &c. and even imprison him, if he presumes to act contrary to their order ¶. When the Jesuits went to *Japan*, it was more with a view of enriching themselves, than of converting the natives; they, every time they entered, conveying ships from *Manila* laden with the richest commodities of those islands. Here they carried on a more extensive trade than any merchants; and their bank, for exchange money, was more resorted to than any other, whither for *China*, *Peru*, &c. Farther, to keep all other orders out of *Japan*, the Jesuits had ingratiated themselves so far, (upon pretence of trading,) into the emperor's favour, by presents of clocks, watches, dials, locks, &c. that they thereby got free access to his court; and cautioned him to beware of friars, who cunningly crept into his kingdom to preach a new law; persuading him, by rigorous

* Gage, p. 127.

¶ Ibid. p. 151, 152, p. 146.

† Ibid. p. 147.

§ Ibid. p. 6, 7.

‡ Ibid. p. 150.

¶ Ibid.

search and enquiries, to root them out; thus, politically, for their own advantage, preventing the increase of Christianity, by any means or instruments, except themselves; in order that the emperor might not perceive, in them, what, they hoped he would suppose in others; and that they themselves should thus appear in sheep's cloathing, whilst the religious of all other orders might seem dressed in those of the fox. *Spanish America* is divided into various spiritual jurisdictions or provinces, belonging to the different religious orders, and their provincials. These, though so far distant from *Europe*, are dependant on the court of *Rome*, to which they are obliged to send a relation of the most remarkable transactions, as they occur: as also, what preachers the several provinces may be in want of*. Many of these preachers are friars who had plunged in vices of every kind; and who, upon their arrival in *America*, are made parish priests; by which means, being no longer confined to a cloyster, they satiate their lawless passions†. In *America* they riot upon the most delicious fish, flesh, fowl, and fruits; their pride and ambition are soothed, by the powerful authority and command they enjoy over the wretched *Americans*, and by the wealth they amass in gold and jewels; some *Spanish* bishops gaining, from the deluded *Americans*, merely for confirming their children, one thousand six hundred ducats in a month‡; and certain friars, spite of their vow of poverty, having, by mumming masses for the dead and living; and otherwise fleecing the poor *Americans*; or by trading with the merchants; amassed six thousand ducats in twelve years, which they sent to the court of *Madrid*, in order to traffic simoniacally for some bishoprick in *America*||.—In all this we must own them to be perfect imitators of the Saviour, whose doctrines they pretend to propagate§. The *Spanish* missionaries in *Manila* are devils in private; and in those retired places where they dwell among the *Americans*, to teach and instruct them; and yet in publick, before their superiors, and the rest of the friars, they will appear as saints; and

* *Cage*, p. 8.|| *Ibid.* p. 112.† *Ibid.* p. 82.§ *Ibid.* p. 82.‡ *Ibid.* p. 102.

put on the cloak of hypocrisy, to cover their inward wickedness.

2. May not the hypocrisy of the missionaries, with regard to their pretended motives of preaching the Christian religion, be proved from their own writings?

A. A Jesuit *, speaking of the establishment of his society, says as follows:—The Jesuit missionaries labour no less for the establishment and preservation of the temporal, than of the spiritual estate. They indeed do not employ fire and sword, their profession not permitting them to do this; but then they perform their business very effectually by other means. So many *Gentiles* as they convert to Christianity, so many friends and vassals they gain to the service of his *Portuguese* majesty. Whenever wars break out, they fight in defence of the state; and, as true Christians, join the *Portuguese*, and become good soldiers. The missionaries, in what country soever they come, keep the people in submission and obedience to their kings and governors. It is a common proverb in *Spain*, *Dios y el rey*, (God and the king.) This the *Japoneze* soon perceived, which gave rise to the persecutions in their country, in the beginning of the sixteenth century.—Here follows another passage from the Jesuit quoted above. “A few years since, under the reign of *Tayco*, the captain of a galeon lost upon the coast of *Japan*, declared publicly: that the method employed by the *Spaniards*, in conquering foreign nations, was first to send among them monks and other religious, to establish Christianity among those infidels; afterwards to send soldiers, who, joining with the new converts, might seize upon the country. This made so strong an impression, that it was chiefly, on this account, that the tyrant *Tayco* put to death the Franciscan friars who had entered *Japan*; as likewise some Jesuits. He raised a cruel persecution against the Christians; depriving us of our churches, and banishing the missionaries.—The Jesuits are no less suspected in *China*. But this just suspicion, entertained of the missionaries, has been extended, by the heathen princes, to all the *European*

* *Ferdinand Guerreiro*, (a Jesuit,) under the years 1602, 1603. quoted in *La Croze, Hist. du Christianisme d'Arménie*, p. 397, & seq.

nations in general; a proof of the ill behaviour of the Jesuits, in their missions. A *French* Romanist *, speaking of the stratagems which the missionaries might employ, in order to creep into heathen countries, says:—The missionaries might go in a secular habit, as they do in *ENGLAND*, and some other missions: they might first ingratiate themselves, by practising physick, or by painting, of which the *Abyssinians* are vastly fond. Had they acted thus, they would have gained reputation at court; have taken a near view of things; and, after winning the favour and esteem of the emperor and the great men, might have taken proper opportunities of speaking to them concerning religion, and pointed out to them their errors †.

Q. Among the several Romish orders sent on missions, which of them are looked upon as most pernicious?

A. The Jesuits, as has been confessed, even by many Roman catholics of the greatest piety and learning; they considering the doctrines and practices of those fathers as infinitely prejudicial to society. A multitude of books have been professedly writ, by the ablest pens, against them. Their venality and pride are so great, that they set all engines at work, to drive out every other order, in what country soever they may be settled. This is evident, among a thousand instances which might be given, from their ungrateful usage, in *Canada*, of the Franciscans; who, after treating them with infinite kindness and humanity, were supplanted by them ‡. Their machinations and crimes, against states, have sometimes been so very enormous, that their whole order has been banished, and many Jesuits executed, as is well known in *England*. They made themselves so obnoxious in *France*, that, *Anno* 1554, the venerable faculty of the *Paris* divines, assembled in the Sorbonne, drew up, at the instance of the parliament of *Paris*, some very strong conclusions against them, in which are these words:—“ This new society,

* Consul Maillet.
L'Eschman, Vol. i. p. 339.

† Jesuits Travels, translated by J. Lockman, Vol. i. p. 339. ‡ *Morale pratique des Jesuites*, p. 278, & seq. Tom. vii. 1693. This work, (in eight volumes, 12mo,) contains a multitude of curious particulars concerning the Jesuits, and unmasks their numberless artifices, frauds, and crimes.

which arrogates particularly to itself the unusual title *Of Jesus*; which receives so indiscriminately, and with so much licentiousness, all sorts of persons, how unqualified, how wicked, or infamous soever: which does not differ, in any respect, from the secular priests, either with regard to dress, to the tonsure, or repeating the canonical hours, whether privately or publicly, at church; which has no cloisters; observes no silence; is restrained by no laws or ceremonies, with respect to the observance of fast-days, or abstinence from flesh; whereby the religious estate maintains its vigour, and is distinguished from the laity. This society, to which many indulgences and privileges have been granted, especially with regard to the administration of the sacraments of penance and the eucharist; and this without any distinction or choice of places or persons; as also for preaching, reading, and teaching, in prejudice of the ordinaries and the hierarchy; of the other religious, and even of princes and temporal lords; contrary to the privileges of universities; and, lastly, to the great oppression of the people.—This society seems to violate the honour due to the monastic institution. It destroys the amiable, the pious, and necessary exercise of the virtues; of abstinences, of ceremonies and austerities; and even gives occasion for apostatizing, by quitting other orders. It overthrows the obedience and submission due to ordinaries; and deprives lords, both spiritual and temporal, of their rights. It creates feuds in civil and ecclesiastical polity; gives rise to murmurings and complaints among the people; causes many suits, divisions, disputes, jealousies, and various schisms.—Having therefore diligently examined and considered all these things: *This society appears dangerous to religion; seems formed to disturb the peace of the church; to overthrow the monastic institution; and to destroy, rather than edify* *."

Q. I am told of a famous prophecy of St. Hildegard, the abbess, which is applied to those fathers: and should be glad to hear it.

A. The several features of this picture resemble the Jesuits so strongly, that one would conclude it could have

* *Morale pratique des Jesuites*, Tom. i. p. 33, 34.

been drawn for no other body. The prophecy is as follows* :—“ A set of men shall arise, who will fatten on the sins of the people. They will profess themselves of the Mendicant order; shall behave as though they had no shame; and study for new methods of doing evil; so that this pernicious order shall be cursed by the wise, and by the faithful to *Jesus*. The devil shall fix in their hearts four vices, *viz.* flattery, to procure them large benefactions; envy, when good is done to others, and not to them; hypocrisy, for them to please by dissimulation; and calumny, that they may commend themselves, and detract from others. They shall preach incessantly to the princes of the church, without the least devotion, or the example of a single martyr, merely to win the praise of men, and to seduce the simple. They shall force the sacraments out of the hands of the true pastors; shall deprive the poor, the miserable and the infirm of alms; and, for this purpose, shall mix with the populace: they shall contract a familiarity with wives; instructing them how to impose artfully on their husbands; and to bestow, privately, their goods upon them. They, when the following words are said to them, *Give to us, and we will pray for you*; shall accept of things unjustly acquired, whether from thieves, extortioners, fornicators, adulterers, heretics, schismatics, apostates, or princes, infringing the laws of the gospel; and, in general, from all whom Satan incites to lead dissolute lives, and afterwards sinks to eternal perdition.—Whatever is offered them, is eagerly grasped at. But the people shall, at last, withhold their kindness; and, discovering their insidious arts, will no longer be bountiful to them; after which they will run about from house to house, like famished, mad, curs, with downcast eyes; stretching out their necks, like vultures, and seeking for bread. But the people shall say unto them: Woe be unto you, ye sons of desolation! Satan has taken possession of your mouths and of your hearts; your minds have wandered in idle speculations; your eyes delighted in vanity; your feet ran swiftly to evil. Re-

* See *Bzovius's Annals*, Tom. xv. This prophecy is given Tom. i. of the *Morale pratique des Jesuites*: with an ample and very instructive commentary.

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member that ye did not practise any thing good ; that ye were rich, spite of the poverty you pleaded ; powerful, though you pretended to be weak ; that you were devout flatterers, holy hypocrites, proud and shameless beggars ; fickle teachers, hard-hearted devotees, smooth-tongued slanderers ; pacific persecutors, votaries to the world, covetous of honours ; venders of indulgences, sowers of discord, false martyrs ; hireling confessors, lovers of ease and dainties ; purchasers of houses, and raising them aloft ; so that, not being able to ascend higher, you shall fall like *Simon Magus*, and be dashed to pieces. In this manner your order will be destroyed, because of your seducing arts and iniquities. Be gone, therefore, ye perverse teachers, ye fathers of corruption, ye sons of iniquity : we will no longer listen to your doctrines, nor imitate your practices.”—The *French* Jesuits have sufficiently blazoned themselves, of late, by their most iniquitous practices, which drew upon them the sequestration of their possessions : and the *Portuguese* Jesuits, by their traiterous proceedings, excited all the indignation of their monarch. Their conduct, on the two occasions above mentioned, seems to verify part of *St. Hildegard's* prediction.—Thrice happy *Great-Britain*, which has long since purged itself of those noxious vipers !



CRUEL TIES



CRUEL TIES
OF THE
PORTUGUEZE,
IN
ETHIOPIA and INDIA.

2.  DID not the artifices and attempts of the court of *Rome*, and it's emissaries, occasion great disturbances in *Abyssinia* or *Ethiopia superior*?

A. Yes: some *Portuguese* missionaries, towards the latter end of the fifteenth century, after the discovery of the *Cape of Good Hope*, almost made Roman catholicks of the *Abyssinians*, who professed the Christian faith; they prevailing with their emperor to acknowledge the pope's supremacy, and to admit a patriarch from *Rome*. The government likewise consented to abolish the established rites, and to set up those of the church of *Rome*; but this being opposed by many of their lords, and the majority of the people, arms were taken up against the emperor, which gave rise to civil wars, that lasted above an hundred years, and in which multitudes of people fell. Many provinces, during this interval, revolted from

from the emperors; spite of which, these persisted obstinately in their professions of the Romish religion. At last the Jesuits, pursuant to their usual practice, undertook the management of temporal affairs, in an arbitrary manner; and this almost exclusive of the emperor. Those artful fathers ventured so far as to erect forts, which they manned; and were going to send for *European* troops: but the emperor and the nobility, waking from their lethargy, immediately agreed to abolish the Romish religion; and to massacre the priests, who accordingly fell victims to the rage of the populace; the patriarch himself narrowly escaping with his life*.

Q. Did not these innovations, and disturbances, induce the *Abyssinian* monarchs to guard against all foreigners?

A. *Lewis XIV.* exerted every endeavour, in order to get the missionaries introduced to the *Ethiopian* court. But the emperors are not easily prevailed upon to admit strangers; much less to allow of their return. The avenues to *Ethiopia* are strictly guarded, and all foreigners denied a passage through them. A *Frank* or *European* is no sooner arrived at the frontiers, but he is very strictly searched from head to foot, to see whether he may have arms, or suspicious merchandise. The *Abyssinians* are particularly strict, in examining whether the foreigner be circumcised; a precaution taken from the hatred they naturally bear to the *Jewish* religion; and they also act in this manner, from the fear they are under, lest spies should slip into their country; who, after becoming acquainted with its situation, might bring in their enemies to enslave them. Some years since, certain *Abyssinians*, who were arrived at *Grand Cairo*, gave, at their return from thence, so advantageous a character of a Capuchin they found in this city, particularly for his great skill in physick, that the emperor, who had been long afflicted with sickness, sent to tell the friar that he should be very welcome in his dominions. And now the father prepared to wait upon the monarch; when some Franciscans, who were come to *Grand Cairo*, in order to

* Travels of the Jesuits, compiled and translated by *J. Lockman*, Vol. i. p. 179. London, printed for *J. Noon*, in the Poultry, 1743, 8vo.

travel into *Ethiopia*, imagining that this offer related to themselves also, set out for that country, without waiting for the Capuchin. The above friars were received, upon the frontiers, with all imaginable civility. The instant that notice was sent, of their arrival, the emperor dispatched orders for their being brought to court; but when they came into his presence, and he was told that the Capuchin was not with them, he was so exasperated, that he immediately commanded them to be put to death*.

Q. Please to proceed with the conduct of the missionaries in *Ethiopia*.

A. They, after causing a bloody war in that country, began to settle the Romish religion upon a solid basis; and the *Portuguese* Jesuits triumphed every where. One of these, named father *Pays*, prevailed with *Saltem Segued*, the emperor, to publish a proclamation; forbidding, upon pain of death, any person to assert, that there was but one nature in Christ. This step, and others which followed it, caused the whole empire to rise; and particularly the friars, who were exceedingly numerous, and have great authority in *Abyssinia*. The *Egyptian Abuna*, or chief pontiff, named *Simon*, joined with the people, and threatened those with excommunication, who should favour the union of the two natures in Christ. In the mean time the Jesuit above mentioned did not forget his own interest; he building a palace for the emperor, and assisting in the work; which edifice the *Ethiopians* greatly admired, they not having seen any such edifice among them during many years. The *Ethiopians* grew more and more uneasy. Upon this a son-in-law of the emperor, with the *Abuna*, took up arms, but were defeated, and killed by the emperor's forces. Several other great men drew the sword, which caused much blood to be spilt. It were endless to specify the havock made, by such as favoured the Romish tenets, of those *Abyssinians* who opposed them. Some men, who were famous hermits, and renowned throughout the empire for their sanctity, fell victims on this dire

* *Description de l'Egypte*, par M. De Maillet, ancien consul de France au Caire, p. 325, & seq. Paris, 1735, 4to.

occasion. The emperor was afterwards weak enough to acknowledge, on his knees, the pope's supremacy. Proclamations were then issued; commanding, upon pain of death, all the *Abyssinians* to embrace the Romish religion.

Q. What was the effect of this proclamation?

A. Though it spread great terror, yet the clergy and the people could not be prevailed upon to submit to the innovation. The soldiers began to butcher those who refused to obey. The monks, and particularly the anchorets, sheltered themselves in lonely caves, or mountains; but were killed as soon as the murderers discovered them. Whenever these could not approach near enough to the victims, they stifled them, by filling their recesses with smoke. If any one became a convert to the Romish principles, it was mere grimace, and to save his life; the court having recourse, at last, to the violent methods usually employed by the popes for converting the disobedient; and the cruelties, exercised at this time, produced the effects which might naturally be expected from it, insurrections breaking out on every side. One of the greatest lords in *Ethiopia*, drawing the sword, on account of these innovations, his soldiers were defeated; and himself being seized in a cave, where he had hid himself after his defeat, the emperor ordered him to be hanged on a tree; and to strike the greater terror, inflicted the like punishment on a sister of his, upon pretence of her having been an accomplice in the rebellion; which struck the whole court, and especially the women, with terror.—The *Portuguese* patriarch, whose vile practices had caused all this blood-shed, still went on with his usual rancour; and incroached daily on the antient jurisdiction of the empire, and even on that of the monarch. A famous friar, who, during many years, had been the head of his order, dying without making an abjuration, was buried at the foot of the altar, in a church; upon which the patriarch ordered the body to be dug up, and thrown into the fields. But this action highly exasperated the *Abyssinians*; they crying aloud, that the *Portuguese*, not satisfied with making war on the living, extended their hatred to the dead, they persecuting even their carcases. The patriarch intended, in all probability,

bability, to introduce the inquisition into *Ethiopia*. Other insurrections breaking forth, and the emperor marching, in person, against his discontented subjects, was present at a very moving scene. Five friars and four nuns having retired to a solitude, to avoid the *Portugueze* troops, one of the nuns appeared on a rock, holding a book in her hand. The nun told the emperor's soldiers, that she looked upon them as *Mahomedans*; and therefore bid them not come nearer, for fear of their polluting her. Saying this, she threw herself from the rock, still holding her book: and the mountain being very high, her body was broke to pieces. The emperor was then besought to soften his rigour; whilst, on the other hand, the patriarch endeavoured to enflame it.

Q. Was the emperor successful in this war?

A. Coming to an engagement, he killed eight thousand of his enemies; and put the rest to flight, which caused an universal panic. Most of the courtiers, conducting him to the field of battle, spoke thus.—“Behold the many thousands who lie slain! They are neither *Mahomedans* nor heathens, but your vassals; and our blood and relations. Whether you vanquish, or are overcome, you will thrust a dagger into your own bosom. Those who have taken up arms, have nothing to object to your majesty; but they cannot be satisfied with the faith which you would force upon them. How much blood has been spilt on occasion of this change of religion! The *Ethiopians* do not like the Romish faith. Leave them therefore in possession of that of their ancestors, otherwise you will lose your empire, and we our quiet.” This struck the emperor with a deep melancholy; so that, after long struggles, he, to satisfy his subjects, consented to the issuing a proclamation, allowing all persons free liberty to join which party they should think proper. This salutary proclamation, which the Jesuits called wicked and sacrilegious, gave incredible satisfaction to all ranks of people, and to the army. Most of the *Abyssinians* then burnt the chapelets or beads which had been put into their hands by the Jesuits; and also composed a spiritual song, to this purpose.

*Sweet freedom, now, the Ethiop lambs enjoy,
Snatch'd from the jaws of the fell, western wolves,
By holy Cyril *, and th' apostle Mark.—
Exult with mirth, and hallelujahs sing.*

The Portuguese patriarch again earnestly requested the emperor, but to no purpose, not to grant this toleration; the *Abyssinians* beginning, even in this monarch's life time, to seize on the Jesuits churches, which seemed fortresses, rather than places set apart for divine worship. This emperor died in 1632; and thrice happy would it have been for him, had the Portuguese fathers never set their foot in his country. *Basilides*, his son and successor, acted in a quite different manner from his father; he sending two persons to the patriarch Jesuit; commanding him to deliver up all the fire-arms in his possession; and to retire immediately to *Fremona*, in the kingdom of *Tigra*. The patriarch sent a long letter to the emperor, promising to quiet matters, in case he would permit his stay; but this made no impression. The patriarch being afterwards desirous of disputing publickly with the learned men of the *Abyssinian* nation, the monarch replied, very justly: *You established your faith by violence and tyranny, and not by arguments.* To conclude: The patriarch, and his retinue, were forced to set out upon a long journey; and being plundered before they reached *Fremona*, arrived there in a very poor condition. A new order coming, commanding them to embark for *India*, the patriarch shuffled during some time, but in vain; he, with his companions, being obliged to go to *Maqua*, and from thence to *Saquem*. Here they were delivered up to the *bassa*, who treated them very cruelly, and forced them to pay exorbitant ransoms. After this, the Romish affairs, in *Abyssinia*, declined daily: and the name of *Roman* catholick is now held in utter detestation by the *Abyssinians*. They had put to death some Jesuits, who hid themselves, in order to preserve, in the Romish faith, the few remaining *Ethiopians*

* Of *Alexandria*.

who still professed it *. Thus the missionaries were completely drove out of *Abyssinia*, the entrance to which they have been forbid ever since. A Romish author (*Le Grand*, in his voyage to *Ethiopia*, Tom. ii. p. 36.) writes as follows. "It were to be wished that the *Portuguese* patriarch, "who doubtless possessed many shining qualities," [for promoting the papal artifices,] "had not undertaken so much; nor so greatly enforced his authority, by acting "in *Abyssinia*, as he would have done in a country where "the inquisition had been established. He made all the "*Abyssinians* his enemies; and drew such an odium upon "the Roman catholicks, (particularly the Jesuits,) that "the hatred in which they were then held continues to "this day."

Q. Relate some farther particulars concerning the popish missionaries.

A. These, when residing among heathens, instruct them very superficially in the Christian religion, and exclude them from the knowledge of the Scriptures. The books hinted at here, written by the Romish fathers, for instructing the heathens in the gospel, (as it is pretended,) are stuffed with so many fictions and gross untruths, that they disguise it infinitely, whence they seem to endeavour at establishing the pope's gospel, rather than that of Christ; and to preach up the latter, merely for the sake of the former. The catechisms put into the hands of their converts, are indigested rhapsodies, no ways founded on the *Bible*. In these are instructions for confession, the perusal of some of which are fit only to excite horror: the authors of such books, upon pretence of entering into a detail of certain sins, specify particulars; the bare mention of which would make a person, of a pious turn of mind, shudder.—Better it were to abolish confession, than publish such abominable things: and to imitate, in this respect, the conduct of our lord-mayors of *London*, who no longer permit trials, attended with leud circumstances, to be printed at length.—The *Portuguese* led such dissolute

* *Histoire du Christianisme d'Ethiopie par M. de la Croze*, p. 295, & seq. La Haye, 1739, 12mo.

lives in *India*, that a convert to Christianity was there looked upon with horror.

Q. Do not the *Indians* detest and abhor the nation just mentioned, and the Christian religion, chiefly on account of their persecuting spirit, so opposite to that of the gospel?

A. Yes. The papists, at the same time that they falsely charge the *Mahomedans* with propagating their religion by force of arms, endeavour to establish their own by the most barbarous practices. We have seen the dreadful persecutions raised by them in *Europe*, which many catholic writers applaud *. The inhabitants of two towns in *Calabria*, in *Italy*, having been seized for being protestants, were all butchered in 1561. Some had their throats cut, and others were thrown from precipices, &c. Now the author here hinted at, is so cruelly ignorant, as to censure those unhappy victims, and to declare that they deserved death. "Their perverseness (adds he) was amazing. A father would see his son, and a son his father, killed and mangled, without showing the least tokens of sorrow. They declared, with joy sparkling in their eyes, that they should be angels of heaven; so greatly had Satan (to whom they devoted themselves †) blinded them." Doctor *Illescas*, a *Spanish* Roman catholic, speaking of the famous *Caçalla*, burnt in *Valladolid*, adds thus.—"Among those burnt were some young beautiful nuns, who, not contented with being *Lutherans*, had spread that cursed doctrine. All the prisoners in *Valladolid*, *Seville* and *Toledo*, were persons of considerable distinction. They were so very numerous, and of such eminence, that it was thought, had not a stop been put to this evil, all *Spain* would have been lost in a month or two."—So that the church of *Rome* owes its preservation to the employing fire and sword, a glaring proof of its excellency!—This some of their preachers do not blush to own; and, among others, the following ‡, in a sermon delivered by him in

* See *Tomaso Costo*, his Supplement to *Pacca's History of Naples*, p. 257.

† Thus shockingly speaks this Romish author, of the protestants so cruelly put to death.

‡ *Sermon de Padre Frey, Antonio Coutinho, impresso em Lisboa, Anno 1638.*

Evera, at an *Auto de Fe*. “Beloved *Portuguese*; (says he,) let us return thanks to heaven, for his great goodness in giving us this holy tribunal,” [the inquisition.] “Had it not been for this tribunal, our kingdom would have become a tree without flowers and fruits, fit only to be committed to the flames. What progress has heresy made, for want of an inquisition, in *England, France, Germany, and the Netherlands*! It is evident that, had it not been FOR SO GREAT A BLESSING, our country would have been like to those above mentioned.”—What are we to think of the confession of this Romish writer!—O blast the pen which could thus bestow panegyrics, on a tribunal that calls aloud for fire from heaven to consume it!

Q. Did not the missionaries employ the like cruel methods in *India*?

A. The celebrated *Francis Xavier* used to declare; *That Christianity would never be solidly established, among the heathens, except the auditors should be within musket-shot* *. *Tellez* also, (book iv. chap. iii. of his history of *Ethiopia*,) does not scruple to write thus: “Our religious have ever been of opinion, that the catholic faith could never be of any duration in *Ethiopia*, except it were supported by force of arms.” We may naturally conclude, that this is the belief of all or most of the Romish missionaries. *Oviedo* the Jesuit, in a letter to pope *Paul V*, says: “Is it a wonder, that we should desire soldiers to support our mission; since even in *Portugal*, the prelates cannot exercise their functions, without having recourse to the secular arm †?” The missionaries make their new converts of use, for this purpose, as speedily as possible.” How glorious, (says father *Couplet* ‡) will it be for the church of *Rome*, and for the college *De propaganda Fide*, should the mission of *China*, at last, enjoy this prerogative above the rest, viz. to obtain so much power, (by means of priests born in this empire,) that the multitude of believers may terrify even the *Chinese* emperors themselves, and the heathen princes.”—The *Portuguese* missionaries pretend to

* See *Navarette*, Treatise vi. p. 436. col. 6.
p. 192.

† See *Acta Sanctorum*, for May, Tom. vii, printed at *Antwerp*.

‡ See *Tellez*,

be persuaded, that all the kingdoms of the East are their property, by virtue of a bull of pope *Alexander VI*; and therefore they endeavour to keep out, from those countries, all preachers whose missions were not confirmed in *Lisbon*. It would be endless to particularize the hatred in *India*, betwixt nations and religious (as they are falsely called) orders: these missionaries venting the most bitter mutual reproaches; destroying one another; and sometimes having recourse to the civil magistrate for this purpose: so that, spite of the accounts published by the Jesuits, the Christian religion has made an infinitely less progress in the East, than those fathers pretend*.

Q. In what manner do the protestant missionaries behave, in *India*, and other countries?

A. Very differently from those of *Rome*, of whom we have been treating. To instance only Mess. *Ziegenbalg* and *Plutschall*, both *Germans*; recommended by the celebrated Mr. *Franke*, doctor and professor of divinity in the university of *Hall*; and sent to *Tranquebar* on the coast of *Cormandel*, under the auspices of his *Danish* majesty, in *November*, 1705. The conduct of these missionaries was truly apostolical; and the reverse of that of the Jesuits, who, though settled more than a century in *Tranquebar*, had instructed the natives very little in true Christianity. The *Danish* mission met with considerable encouragement from *England*: 1194 *l. sterling*, besides books, mathematical instruments, and a complete font of letters, having been sent from thence in 1713. Mr. *Ziegenbalg* was among us in 1716, and received all the honours (even from king *George I*; from his present majesty; and the late queen *Caroline*) due to his exalted merit. Archbishop *Tennison*, (and his successor *Wake*,) were great promoters of this mission, to which also our society for propagating Christian knowledge contributed largely; it being by their zeal that the above sum, &c. was collected.

Q. Please to be more particular, as to the conduct of Mr. *Ziegenbalg*, and his colleague.

* *Hist. du Christianisme des Indes, par M. de la Croze, p. 510, & seq. La Haye, 1724, 12mo.*

A. They

A. They possessed all the qualifications requisite in a missionary ; both of them being young ; inspired with an ardent spirit of piety ; learned ; and endowed with a strong memory, which enabled them to acquire foreign languages, in the shortest space. Arriving at *Tranquebar*, in July 1706, they applied themselves first to the *Portuguese*, as most of the *Malabarians*, or natives, understand that tongue ; and at the same time caused a school to be opened, for the instruction of the *Indian* youth in the *Portuguese* language. The *September* following they began to study the *Malabar* language, the pronunciation whereof is exceedingly difficult. The books therein, which are very numerous, are all writ on palm-leaves ; but as the *Malabarians* have no Grammar or Dictionary, our missionaries found it impossible to acquire the language in question without help. They thereupon addressed a *Malabarian* school-master, and engaged him in their service, together with all the youth under his care. With these our missionaries learnt the *Malabar* letters, by writing them, with their fingers, on the sand, (in much the same manner as the antients taught geometry ;) and afterwards joining them, as directed by the preceptor. By this means they learnt, at an easy expence, to read and write together. But this teacher not understanding *Portuguese*, they were forced to take another *Malabarian* into their service, who was conversant in several tongues. By his assistance ; together with a small abridgment of the *Malabarian* language, drawn up by a *Portuguese* missionary, and their perpetual conversation with the natives, Mr. *Ziegenbalg* acquired great knowledge in the language of the country, in a little more than a year.

Q. What was their next step ?

A. They now began to preach in the *Malabarian* language, and to instruct the heathens ; after having studied the books, containing the principles of the idolatry and morality of the *Indians*, and the history of their nation. The *Malabarian* interpreter above mentioned, having lived two years with them, was forced out of their service ; committed to prison ; and banished, (the king of the country being a great enemy to the Christian religion :) upon an information being lodged against him, of his

Q 2

having

having revealed the mysteries of the religion of the country to the *Danish* missionaries. In *November* 1706, they had begun to instruct their catechumens, or new converts, in the *Portugueze*, two hours every day, in a house hired by them in *Tranquebar*; they using the *New Testament*, and a short Catechism, in that tongue, for this purpose. This exercise has since been always carried on in the church built by our missionaries. At the same time they prayed, preached, and expounded the Scriptures daily to the *Germans* settled in *Tranquebar*. The beginning of 1707, they began to catechise the children of the natives in the *Malabarian* language, which practice has been continued ever since. They now had two schools; one for the *Malabarian*, the other for the *Portugueze* tongue. In the former, besides the catechism of the churches of *Saxony* translated into the language of the country, (the *Tamule*;) the whole *New Testament* was gradually explained to them, and the fundamental truths of the Christian religion deduced from thence. This exercise was attended with a considerable expence; it being necessary to get a great number of copies of the catechism, (besides other books,) writ, as there was, as yet, no printing press in the country; not to mention that the missionaries fed, and otherwise supported, so far as they were able, all their catechumens. The mission being now in a very flourishing way, our missionaries were severely persecuted; not by the heathens or *Mahomedans*; but by the Christians residing in *Tranquebar*; but his *Danish* majesty generously interfering, the persecution ceased.

Q. Proceed in the narrative.

A. Mr. *Ziegenbalg* undertook the various exercises performed in the *Malabarian* language, and his colleague those in the *Portugueze*. Spiritual songs were composed, in both languages, to the tunes used in the protestant churches of *Europe*. In *May* 1707, the missionaries baptized, in their *Portugueze* church, some catechumens, whom they had supported. These new converts were publickly examined, in all the articles of the Christian faith, in the *Danish* church at *Tranquebar*. The juvenile part of the natives were easily prevailed upon, by the Scriptures being explained to them, to embrace the Christian faith; but it

was

was otherwise with the adult; these entertaining a strong prejudice against the *Europeans* in general, on account of their dissolute behaviour; and thence naturally imagining that they had no religion at all. Mr. *Ziegenbalg*, in answer to this, observing to a *Malabarian*, that the Christians assembled every *Sunday* at church; the heathen said, that he thought the preacher exhorted them only to get drunk and riot; as he had observed that the *Europeans*, the instant divine service was ended, always flocked to public houses, &c. The missionaries afterwards qualified a *Malabarian* to be their catechist, such being of great use in converting the natives. In *August* 1707 was finished the church, called by them the *New Jerusalem*, designed for themselves and their converts only. Here they began to baptize. Sermons, in the *Malabarian* and *Portuguese* tongues, were preached therein; and the Catechism explained, twice a week, in both these languages.

Q. What did our missionaries farther?

A. They set up new charity-schools; and were indefatigable in their endeavours to inculcate, and spread the solid principles of religion. They made a great progress, spite of the opposition of their enemies, and their narrow circumstances. This did not discourage Mr. *Ziegenbalg*, who was resolved to end his days in a country into which he supposed God had sent him, to carry the light of the gospel. In 1708, he undertook several journies along the *Malabar* coast; disputing with the bramins whithersoever he came. He, and his colleague, were afterwards involved in fresh difficulties, by the shipwreck of a *Danish* ship, which was to have brought them a thousand crowns; as well as by a bloody persecution raised, by the king of the country, against all the *Romish* converts. Many of these were butchered; others fled into the dominions of the grand mogul; some of whom came in *August* 1708, in the name of many thousands of their brethren, to our *Danish* missionaries, in order to be instructed by them; and, if possible, settled in the uncultivated lands about *Tranquebar*. Our missionaries entertained them very hospitably some days; but were at last obliged, to send them away, to their infinite regret. In *October*, 1708, Mr. *Ziegenbalg*, began his *Malabarian* version of the *New*

Testament, (printed afterwards at *Tranquebar*, in 1714, in 4to,) which cost him infinite pains. The Romish missionaries have writ some tracts in the language of the country. These consist merely of the lives of saints, instructions for confession, catechisms; and even plays, whose plots are borrowed from the legend, in order for their being represented in churches, on saints days; but the gospel, after the Romish missionaries had been above two hundred years in these parts, had not yet appeared in the language of the country. This glory was reserved for Mr. *Ziegenbalg*, who, exclusive of all others, might justly be styled the apostle of *India*, as he was the first who revealed the gospel of Christ there. Our missionary, spite of this laborious task, continued his apostolical labours; not to mention the poverty to which himself and his companion were reduced. But the great progress made by the *Indians*, whom they instructed incessantly both publicly and privately, proved the highest consolation to them, and compensated for all their afflictions.

2. When were they first assisted from *Europe*?

A. In *July* 1709, at which time three new missionaries arrived. They brought with them a considerable sum of money, collected in *Denmark* and *Germany*; together with a great number of excellent books, and a large quantity of medicines of all kinds. It was now their enemies were covered with confusion; they imagining that the difficulties and straits to which they were reduced, would oblige them to return to *Europe*; but, besides these supplies, the king of *Denmark* ordered the governor of *Tranquebar*, to give them all possible assistance. In *September* 1709, Mr. *Ziegenbalg* undertook a journey into the kingdom of *Tanjour*, in order to preach the gospel there; he wearing an *Indian* dress, and being attended by some servants. Advancing about nine leagues up the country, he met an assembly of bramins* and others, who strongly exhorted him to turn back: saying, "That they would not seize him, though they were impowered to do it, knowing that all he taught was good, and related to God: that the

* Idolatrous priests in *India*, and successors of the antient brachmans,

wife would take a delight in hearing and conversing with him; but that the number of such was few, the world being very corrupt, and mankind bent on nothing but getting money, for which reason they conjured him to go back to *Tranquebar* *." Mr. *Ziegenbalg*, after being offered, with the greatest humanity, refreshments, thought proper to return. The number of catechumens increasing, several houses were built for lodging them. One of the chief objects of our missionary's care, was to disperse, all over the coast, treatises writ in the *Malabarian* tongue, for the conversion of the heathens, with whom he soon after settled a correspondence by letters; part of which consisting of conferences, were translated into *English* by my late learned friend, Mr. *T. J. Philips*, preceptor to his royal highness the duke of *Cumberland*. The Jesuits, at *Tranquebar*, published some calumnies concerning our missionaries, but these were easily refuted. In *July* 1711, Mr. *Ziegenbalg* went to *Madrafs*, on which occasion he visited the several *European* settlements along the coast. He found, in all the churches of the *Romish* missionaries, a ~~and laity~~; most of the former being ignorant, not only of the *Malabarian* language, but even of the *Latin*. In *September*, 1711, Mr. *Plutschall* returned to *Europe*, in order to recover his health; and in 1712, a paper-mill and printing presses were set up in *Tranquebar*.

Q. Pray end the account of this mission.

A. Mr. *Ziegenbalg*, still indefatigable, besides his preaching continually in the *Malabarian*, the *Portuguese* and *German* language, kept up his correspondence, by letter, with the *Indians*, with whom he also disputed frequently. He had now compleated his version of the *New Testament*; and was composing a *Malabarian* dictionary, which, in *June* 1712, amounted to about 20,000 words. False were therefore the slanders of the Jesuits, with regard to the conduct of this excellent missionary. It will be impossible for them to point out any of their brethren, who, in less than thirteen years, performed half what was done by Mr. *Ziegenbalg*; he preaching only (as I shall observe, by the

* How sensible, how just, how excellent is this little speech!

way) Christ crucified; and not larding his sermons with Romish indulgences, relicks, images, or legendary fables. In *October* 1714, Mr. *Ziegenbalg* set out on his return to *Europe*, in order to promote the affairs of the mission. During the voyage, in which he was chaplain of the ship, he continued his translation of the *Old Testament* into the *Malabarian* language; and drew up a *Malabarian* grammar, which was printed in 1716. Arriving at the *Cape of Good Hope*, he had a remarkable conversation with a chaplain, among the *Hottentots*, who understood *Dutch*. Landing, in *June* 1715, in *Denmark*, he preached before his *Danish* majesty, of whom he afterwards had audience; at which he presented to him a native of *Malabar*, a convert, who thanked the king, in *German*, for his gracious protection of the mission. Mr. *Ziegenbalg*, who was now married, came afterwards into *England*, whence he, with his wife, set out for *Tranquebar* in *March* 1716-17; and got safe there about *August* following. After his return, he continued his labours with the same zeal, till his death, which year of his age. He died with the greatest resignation; and was wept even by the heathens, who all entertained the utmost veneration and love for him *. How wide a difference is there between the conduct of the protestant, and that of the Romish missionaries, in converting heathen nations! The proselytes of the latter are ignorant of Christianity; they knowing very little more than the *Ave-Maria*, the *Pater-Noster*, and to cross themselves on all occasions. But our protestant missionaries employ no other method, in their conversions, than that of the apostles themselves, viz. persuasion, and convincing arguments, which display the corruption of human nature, and the necessity of a mediator. The proselytes to the church of *Rome*, are won over chiefly by violence; at which the heathens, who are a sensible people, are no less offended than the protestants at the bloody inquisition. *Gemalio*, an *Indian*, who hated the artifices, no less than the cruelties of the church of *Rome*, spoke as follows, in a full assembly of the *Portu-*

* *Hist. du Christianisme des Indes, par M. De La Croze, Lib. vii. La Haye, 1724, 12mo.*

gueze. "If you preach to others, that there is a God in heaven, who observes every thing done on earth; and will certainly reward all good deeds, and punish all evil ones, without believing what you say, or practising what you do believe; you are guilty of such crimes, as God must necessarily abhor above all others*."—Hypocrisy is an odious vice, on what occasion soever practised: but when employed in matters of religion, (of all things the most sacred,) it is then detestable. As this vice acts so mighty a part, in the Romish church; and as this church is productive of numberless evils to mankind, which is evident from the foregoing sheets: may heaven for ever continue, to these kingdoms, the invaluable blessing, of being freed from it's tyranny!

* Thirty-four conferences, between the *Danish* missionaries, and the *Malabarian* bramins, &c. Translated by Mr. *Philips*. Preface, p. xx, xxi. London, 1719, 8vo.

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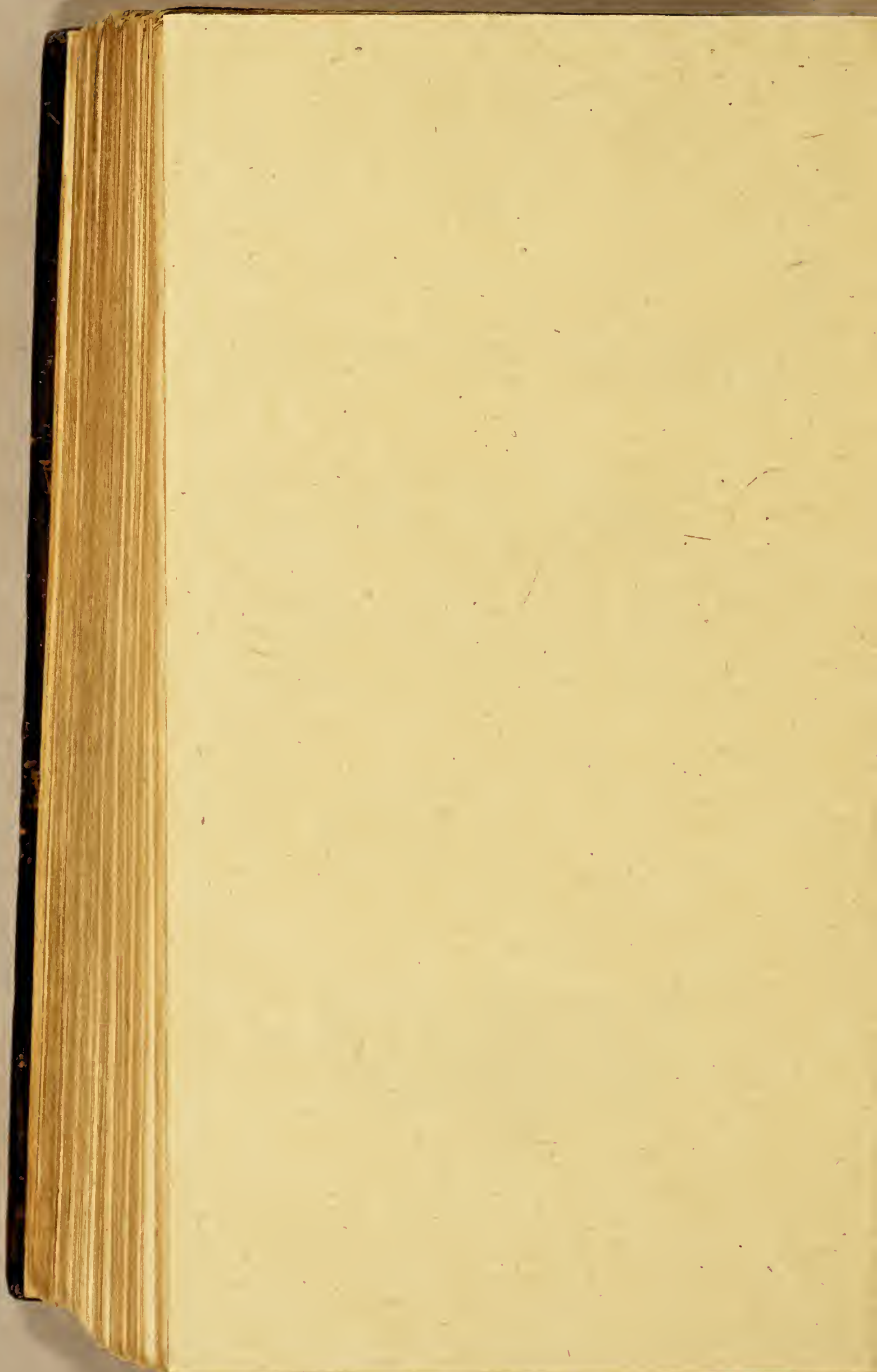
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